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THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT EGYPT

BY

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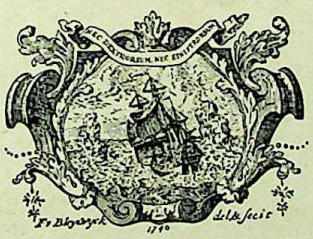

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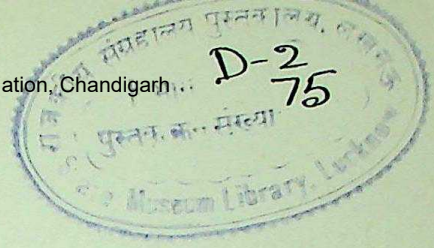

TO THE
PRESIDENT OF KENYON COLLEGE
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IN
RECOGNITION OF THEIR GENEROSITY IN
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THE DEGREE OF
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PREFACE

A BOOK called the Religion of the United States of America might be expected to have Christianity as its subject. But since Christianity in the United States is not a unit in itself, except in contrast to, say, Mohammedanism, a book on the Religion of the United States would have to contain an account of the constitution and belief of the various aspects or manifestations of Christianity, such as, the Roman Catholic Church, the Methodist Church, the Episcopal Church, the Unitarian Church, and many others. In like manner, a book called the Religion of Ancient Egypt must have religion in ancient Egypt as its subject. But religion in ancient Egypt was not a unit. It was Polytheism, consisting of the cults of many different deities, so that a book on the Religion of Ancient Egypt should contain an account of the history, the faith, and rites of the various aspects or manifestations of Polytheism, such as, the Cult of Osiris, the Cult of Rē^{c}, the Cult of Amūn, the Cult of Aton, and many others.

There are two main reasons for saying that the writer of the first of the two possible books above mentioned would have by far the easier task. First, he would have at hand an abundance of contemporaneous material; and, secondly, he would have access to excellent books on the constitution and belief of the various Churches, written by members of the faithful in each Church. On the other hand, the writer of the second book would have at hand comparatively very little contemporaneous material, and of that the interpretation and understanding would be difficult and uncertain; and, in the second place, he would have no guide at all, for no ancient Egyptian ever left to posterity, so far as we know, any account of the history, faith, and rites of his cult.

Consequently, the writer of this present handbook on the religion of Ancient Egypt has had to depend upon fragments of ancient material, written and otherwise, difficult to understand and to interpret; upon articles and books, some by ancient Greek and Roman writers, more by modern scholars, like himself, centuries after the religion of ancient Egypt ceased to be practised; and upon his own imagination and success in reconstructing ideas and rites of the vanished past.

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Given a collection of ten thousand facts, and ten different men separately to interpret them, and on the basis of their interpretations to write a book apiece : The chances are that no two of the independent books would agree to any great extent. Nor do any two great philosophers ever agree to any considerable extent. Given a collection of ten thousand ancient statements, difficult of understanding and interpretation, and ten different men independently to interpret them, and on the basis of their interpretations each to write a book : It is pretty certain that no two of the books would agree to any great extent at all. Consequently, the present writer puts forth this book, realizing that an accurate picture of ancient Egyptian religion may be beyond the power of any modern scholar to reconstruct ; that no other Egyptologist will be likely to agree with him to too great an extent ; but that he has made an earnest and honest attempt to reconstruct and describe the main characteristics and aspects of the religion of ancient Egypt, and of its most important cults, from prehistoric time until its very end. And, as Sethe wrote in 1930 at the end of the introduction to his masterful book, *Urgeschichte und Aelteste Religion der Aegypter*, " Wer es nicht glauben will, mag es nicht glauben."

This is not, then, a *history* of Egyptian religion. The time is not ripe, and never may be, to attempt such a task. Furthermore, a history of Egyptian religion would be a history of many separate and distinct cults, and of many of them we have very little information, and that very difficult to interpret. So, in this attempt to reconstruct the religion of ancient Egypt, the author has tried to keep in mind, and to express, a distinction between what is certain, what is almost certain, what is probable, and what is only possible.

In writing and publishing a book of this kind, space forbids many things. It forbids full arguments for and against disputed interpretations ; it forbids the reproduction of longer but important quotations from original sources ; it forbids the use of expressions and phrases in hieroglyphic, hieratic, demotic, and Coptic ; it forbids the inclusion of many things which the specialist will miss ; it forbids much which the student of comparative religion would like to have seen included. The same reason accounts for the absence of sufficient discussions of those political and social forces which play such a part in the development of religious ideas and institutions, as well as for the brevity of the account of the later

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periods in Egyptian religious ideas (which, anyway, were pretty firmly set for ever by the middle of the Nineteenth Dynasty), in contrast to the long introductory part, where reconstruction is so difficult and uncertain.

It has not been considered possible or desirable to give references for every statement, especially statements generally accepted, but in all cases of importance a fairly full list of the more important ones have been entered. The problem of spelling and transliteration is always a difficult one. Established usage and the non-Egyptological reader call for Amenophis instead of Amenḥotep or Amen-ḥotpe, Hermopolis instead of Shmun, Serapis instead of Sarapis (*Σαραπις* seldom *Σεραπις*), *Śed*-festival instead of *śd*-festival, etc., although the more scientific Rē^{c}, Amūn, etc., seem to have acquired a permanent place for themselves. The commonly accepted method of transliteration has been employed, wherever it was deemed necessary to put the value of the original text before the reader. As to the illustrations, in which no attempt has been made to improve on the originals, they are meant to be merely rough but useful tracings and drawings of a few of the many published representations.

It is not possible in a work of this kind, where hundreds of books and articles and scores of texts have been used, to give credit always where credit is due. The numerous references and list of abbreviated literature will, it is hoped, partly compensate. A few items are singled out, however, for special reference, because of the great and constant use which has been made of them. They are: Sethe's *Urgeschichte*, Budge's *Gods*, Erman's *Religion*, Moret's *Nile*, Breasted's *Development*, Daressy's *Divinités*, Gauthier's *Dictionnaire*, the *Wörterbuch* material in Berlin, and Lanzone's *Dizionario*. The author hereby acknowledges his indebtedness to all these, as well as to the works of many other specialists.

To two local friends, Mr. Robert E. Briggs and the Rev. Father C. C. Keller, for reading proof, and to the latter for preparing the map and helping with the index, my warmest thanks are due.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Neolithic Age : About 12000-5000 B.C.

Aeneolithic Period : About 5000-3000 B.C.

Beginning of the Dynasties : About 3000 B.C.

Thinite Period, Dynasties 1-2 : *c.* 3000-2780 B.C.

Old Kingdom, Dynasties 3-6 : *c.* 2780-*c.* 2270 B.C.

Dark Age, Dynasties 7-11 : *c.* 2270-2000 B.C.

Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 12 : *c.* 2000-1788 B.C.

Second Dark Age, and the Hyksos Period, Dynasties 13-17 : *c.* 1788-1555 B.C.

New Kingdom or Empire Period, Dynasties 18-20 : *c.* 1555-1090 B.C.

Decadence, Dynasties 21-30 : 1090-332 B.C.

Archaising Period, Dynasty 26 : 663-525 B.C.

Persian Conquest : 525 B.C.

Greek Conquest and Ptolemaic Period : 332-30 B.C.

Roman Conquest and Roman Period : 30 B.C.-A.D. 378.

Deerce of Theodosius : A.D. 378.

Worship of Isis came to an end at Philae in the reign of Justinian : A.D. 527-565.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

LIKE most people, the ancient Egyptians looked upon themselves as superior to all others. In this respect the Greeks were not different. They especially ridiculed the Egyptians and their religious ideas, although, long before Homer and Hesiod, Egypt had made an enduring reputation for herself in the annals of human achievement. The ancient Egyptians were neither romantic, imaginative, logical, nor philosophical, to any pre-eminent degree, but, contrary to an impression due to their concern for the dead, they were a cheerful and happy, peace-loving people. Above all they were deeply religious.

It is now a commonplace to say with Herodotus (II, 5), who borrowed the idea from Hecataeos, that Egypt is the gift of the river (Nile). It was, indeed, the Nile, with its rich waters, which turned the desert, that is, in Egyptian, the *desher.t*, " red land ", into the fertile *kem.t*, " black land ". Thus, Herodotus, in another place could write, " the oracle of Ammon declares that all the country covered by the inundation of the Nile is Egypt, and all those who, below Elephantiné, drink the water of the Nile are Egyptians " (II, 18). The glory of Egypt was, and always has been, the Nile ; and the secret of her everlasting charm is " the gift of the river ".

Rich beyond words is Egypt's contribution to human culture. Any tourist can still see in the Valley of the Nile abundant evidence of the supremacy of ancient Egypt in the realms of art, architecture, and engineering ; any student of civilization can find in her extant records full evidence of her gifted mathematicians, chemists, physicians, statesmen ; and men always and everywhere have testified to the greatness and richness of her religious ideas. And it is these ideas—interesting, strange, original, and often spiritually inspired—with which we are herein concerned.

Unfortunately, no Egyptian theologian, so far as we know, ever wrote a " summa " of the official religious thought of his people ; nor can we hope ever to know what exactly were the religious ideas of the common man. Consequently, any modern treatise on

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ancient Egyptian religion must be based upon myths and legends; poems, songs, hymns, and prayers; narratives, biographies, histories, and other literary remains; as well as upon that which classical writers have handed down to us. And, even then, the finished work, at best, will be but fragmentary and uncertain, the mere hypotheses and *a posteriori* reconstruction of a modern scholar, with his limited insight into ancient ways of religious thought. However, each fresh student of this ancient religion, if he is prudent, will attempt to profit by the mistakes of his predecessors. Thus, no doubt, he will avoid the extremes of those who, like certain Greek and some moderns, would see in Egyptian religion the source of all wisdom; of those who would make the ancient Egyptians mere African barbarians; or of those who would see only solemnity and gloom in the religious life of the early inhabitants of the Valley of the Nile. There is sound reason to believe that the modern student of ancient Egyptian religious ideas will find that in them there was a substratum of indigenous African ideas; that the inhabitants of Egypt were open to influences in religious ideas from much of the ancient Oriental world, and especially from Western Asia; that the ancient Egyptians were no more—perhaps less—logical in religious ideas than any other ancient—and perhaps also modern—people; that while the human brain tends to fall readily into a familiar rhythm, resulting in a certain continuity of religious thought, there was nevertheless an evolution of religious ideas throughout the centuries;[1] and that while, in a sense, "Egypt never forgot" and scarcely ever discarded old religious beliefs, she did very often learn and adopt new ones. The glaring inconsistencies and contradictory beliefs held all at once by the ancient Egyptians are the cause of much of our trouble in attempting to reconstruct an account of their religious ideas. Added to this difficulty is the fact that the Egyptians themselves never made any attempt to harmonize popular credulity with the wisdom of the priests, to reconcile tradition with later accretions, nor to evolve a clear and complete guide to their own religious beliefs. The modern student, however, has come to learn that the religion of ancient Egypt was never one—neither in place nor in time—for

[1] Thus would Pietchmann, Ed. Meyer, Tiele, and Maspero have us believe, while de Rougé, Pierret, and Brugsch held that the religion of ancient Egypt remained the same throughout the ages. All modern Egyptologists follow, in this respect, Maspero, who was the first really to understand the true general nature of Egyptian religious ideas.

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there were many cults at many places. Even at the height of ancient Egyptian culture, there existed side by side at least an official religion and a popular religion. The Egyptologist also counts with the fact that no one modern classification, such as, for example, Fetishism, Animism, Nature Worship, Henotheism, Pantheism, Monotheism can account for all the peculiarities of the religion—or religions—of ancient Egypt. In fact, it contained elements and aspects of all these ; and withal it was symbolical and literal, mystical and pragmatic, conservative and syncretistic, and supremely contradictory and inconsistent at one and the same time.

The great antiquity of Egyptian history is well known, but an exact dating of the earlier periods is difficult to establish. The Egyptians themselves had traditions about the beginning of things and succeeding events, and some of them have been preserved. They are, however, mythical and at the best legendary. Thus, according to Manetho (preserved by Eusebius and Syncellus), there reigned in Egypt, long before the first historic pharaohs, three dynasties, the first consisting of divine rulers, Θεοί, Ptah, Rē^{c}, Shu, Geb, Osiris, Set, and Horus as the last. The second dynasty was one of semi-divine rulers, ἡμίθεοι ; and the third was made up of Mânes, " Spirits, Followers of Horus ", whom he called νέκυες. Then he recorded thirty Memphite kings, who would seem to be also followers of Horus, and ten Thinite kings, who, he thought, perhaps reigned after Menes. But Manetho's details were either confused in his own mind, or they have not been correctly transmitted to us. Another native tradition has been preserved in fragmentary form in the famous Turin Papyrus, dating from the time of Rameses II, which is so much like the contents of the Manetho tradition as to lead to the conclusion that both traditions were derived from a common source. These kings, divine, semi-divine, and human were thought to have reigned many hundreds of years, indeed, according to the fragment of the Turin Papyrus, Horus alone was said to have reigned 300 years.

On a higher level of trustworthiness may be placed the Palermo Stone, its Cairo fragments, and their contents. This important monument dates from the Fifth Dynasty, and in recent years has been the subject of much study. Breasted's brilliant analysis[2] has shown that before Menes there reigned at least seven kings over Upper and Lower Egypt united, and after that at least nine

[2] J. H. Breasted, " The Predynastic Union of Egypt ", *Bulletin*, XXX (1931), 709-24.

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over Lower Egypt, and an unknown number at the same time over Upper Egypt. The monument has preserved nothing about the duration of these reigns.

Until a few years ago it was confidently believed that the various supposed recorded astronomical observations of ancient Egyptians about the heliacal risings of the star Sirius (Sothis) were sufficiently accurate to establish the exact date of these events. Three such risings were thought to have been established. Now, classical astronomers observed a fourth in about A.D. 139,[3] and since the number of years between one rising and the following one is 1460, the first of the three risings previous to A.D. 139 must be dated 4241 B.C. This date, then, was taken to mark, at the latest, the establishment of a scientific calendar in ancient Egypt. But many serious and able students of Egyptian history found it very difficult to accept such an early date, and some, while respecting the supposed findings of early Egyptian astronomers, found reasons for placing the introduction of the calendar about 1,460 years later, that is, 2781 B.C., or, according to Sethe, 2776 B.C.[4] Quite recently Neugebauer[5] has cast serious doubt upon the value of the passages in Egyptian inscriptions which are supposed to record the heliacal rising of Sirius. His argument is a very powerful one, but without, I think, sufficient detail and explanation. So that, for the present, it would seem best to accept the value and general accuracy of the Egyptian records, in respect to two of the heliacal risings of Sirius, and to put the first at 2781 B.C., as the date of the invention of the calendar.

Fortunately, for a reconstruction of Egyptian chronology, Manetho once wrote a history of Egypt of which we now possess an epitome by Julius Africanus and Eusebius with extracts by Josephus. In it, he divided the long list of Egyptian pharaohs into thirty dynasties. This list, though not always exact, has been accepted by modern students, and together with dead reckoning, based upon a great mass of names, events, and years, enables us to reckon back to about 3000 B.C. as the date of the beginning of the dynasties. There is considerable uncertainty about this date, due

[3] Cf. BAR, I, 44.

[4] K. Sethe, " Die Zeitrechnung der alten Aegypter im Verhältniss zu der der andern Völker ", *Nachrichten d. k. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1919-20, p. 308 ; cf. Scharff, in *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 1939, Nr. 28, 349 f.

[5] O. Neugebauer, " Die Bedeutungslosigkeit der ' Sothisperiode ' für die älteste aegyptische Chronologie ", *Acta Orientalia*, 17 (1938), 169-195 ; cf. also his article, " The History of Ancient Astronomy ", JNES, IV (1945), 1-38.

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to two dark periods in Egyptian history, one between the Old Kingdom and the Middle Kingdom, from Manetho's Seventh to his Eleventh Dynasty, and the second before the Eighteenth Dynasty, including the Hyksos period.

For the 2,000 years, more or less, between the time of the beginning of the dynasties and the end of the Neolithic Age, in Egypt, Professor Petrie[6] has constructed his famous Sequence Dates. These numbers furnish a means of dating relatively within these 2,000 years previous to about 3000 B.C. He divides this predynastic period into three sub-periods, and assigns to early predynastic the numbers 30 to 40, to the middle predynastic 40-60, and to the late predynastic 60-78. These numbers, thus, furnish a rough means of determining relative points in predynastic time. The periods previous to 30 and after 78 are reserved for earlier and later expansion.

The chronology of the period 3000 B.C. to the coming of Alexander the Great, based upon Manetho's dynastic system, is being gradually completed by modern research on the basis of extant lists and events, coupled with synchronisms between the history of Egypt and that of Western Asia.

The earliest Egyptians belonged to the beginnings of what we now call the "Mediterranean race"—a race of people who in antiquity made their home in a region which extended from what is now Britain to India, and included the northern shores of the Mediterranean, the whole of North Africa and Western Asia, including Arabia. They were a long-haired race, with scanty beard and medium amount of body hair, brown skinned, long head, straight forehead, delicate features, eyes large and wide open, and body medium in height with a slight figure. Of the Mediterranean race there were two types, the "Oriental" Mediterranean and the "African" or "Hamitic" Mediterranean, to the second of which belonged the Egyptians. There were local varieties of these "African" or "Hamitic" Mediterraneans in ancient Egypt, but by the beginning of the dynastic period all the inhabitants had long formed but one people.

There is abundant evidence to prove that Egypt was inhabited by man long before the Neolithic Age and well back into the Palaeolithic Age, but it must be borne in mind that the earliest skeletons, so far found, of ancient Egyptians belong to the later part of the Neolithic Age (12000-5000 B.C.), and the earliest

[6] W. M. F. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, London, 1901.

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drawings of human figures, found in Egypt, come from the Aeneolithic Period (5000-3000 B.C.).

Archaeological exploration in the Valley of the Nile, at such places as Merimde-Benisalâme, Tasa, and the Faiyûm, has revealed for the Neolithic Age an indigenous, agricultural people, living in villages, possessing the knowledge of pottery, of brick-making, of the use of grain, of the art of decorating beakers, and of the knowledge of domesticating cattle, but with no knowledge of metals. At Naqâda, Badari, and el-Amra evidence of much advance on the earlier period has been found. This brings us into the early part of the Aeneolithic Period, when the inhabitants are still largely indigenous, although there is evidence of a feather-wearing, seafaring people, making their way slowly and gradually into Egypt, across the Red Sea, lingering on their way through the Wâdi Ḥammâmât and northwards along the shores of the Nile, finally settling in the West Delta. These people may have come ultimately from southern Mesopotamia, across Arabia. They brought with them copper and the knowledge of its use. The first skulls found in Egypt show a mixed race[7]—these were the early Aeneolithic indigenous people of Egypt and the new-coming feather-wearing people of the regions east of the Red Sea. These combined peoples made a very superior type of pottery, and produced the earliest known human figurines. They knew the art of weaving, and carved the earliest figures of animals. This way of life is usually called the "First Civilization". From such sites as Ṭura, Maadi, Ṭarkhân, Gerzeh, Abuṣîr el-Meleq, and Harageh there comes evidence of a culture, arising at first in the Delta, and later spreading southward, far superior to that of the First Civilization. This is called the "Second Civilization". Its superiority is due to a large extent to foreign influence, from the east and north, and partly also to the same feather-wearing people from across the Red Sea. The Second Civilization differs from the First in its greater richness, and technical superiority, as well as by the abrupt changes of fashion in weapons, pottery, and dress, exhibiting a marked Mediterranean and Asiatic colouring.[8]

The Second Civilization was further enriched by a definitely Asiatic, and probably Semitic, people, who entered the Delta

[7] Cf. Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, 369.

[8] See for details, Mercer Horus, chapter II ; cf. Kantor, in JNES, I (1942), 174-213.

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from the east, and made their home in and around Busiris. They made common cause with their predecessors in Lower Egypt. Still another infiltration of new and rich blood came probably from the islands of the Mediterranean, and possibly, also from the Caucasus. These people settled near the apex of the Delta, at Heliopolis. A probable interpretation of early Egyptian legends indicates a war between the people of the First Civilization of Upper Egypt and those of the enriched Second Civilization of Lower Egypt, in which the Upper Egyptians were defeated, and the North set up a capital for the united country at Heliopolis, retaining at the same time the earlier local capital, Busiris. But a second conflict between North and South again divided the country. As a result the Delta strengthened itself under the leadership of a king, descendant of the feather-wearing people of across the Red Sea, and again defeated the South, uniting Egypt for the second time. It is the kings of this union, most likely, who are represented in the first group on the Palermo Stone and its fragments. Legends also indicate a third predynastic conflict between Upper and Lower Egypt, after they had fallen apart, whose kings are represented in the second and third groups of the Palermo Stone and its fragments. The southern kings, in this conflict, proved the stronger. King " Scorpion ", the first king in Egyptian history whom we know by name, began the conquest of the North, but he did not live to finish it. That was accomplished partly by Narmer and finally by Menes,[9] who united Egypt for the third time, and became the first king of the accepted dynastic rulers of the combined kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt. He moved his capital to Thinis, but built an imperial city, which he called Memphis.

Just as civilization begins with agriculture, so history begins with writing. Now, so far as Egyptian archaeologists know, there is not a single example of pre-dynastic writing extant. The monument of King " Scorpion " contains the earliest approach to hieroglyphic writing, and after that the process gradually gained force, so that by the time of the Pyramid Texts, four or five hundred years later, a system of writing was well developed and established. The earliest examples of real writing, in a very primitive form, are to be seen on the cylinder seals and slate palettes of the First Dynasty. We, therefore, are accustomed to say that writing, and with it

[9] Unless Narmer and Menes be one and the same person (cf. Drioton, *L'Egypte*, Paris, 1938, p. 597; cf. Drioton, *L'Egypte*, 2e éd., Paris, 1946, pp. 635 ff., where the view is expressed that Namer = Menes = Aḥa).

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history, began with the dynastic period, that is, about 3000 B.C. So that what we have been doing in the preceding paragraph or two has been to outline a tentative and perhaps probable course of events in Egypt in predynastic time. From now on we shall feel our feet on firmer historic ground, although even here we shall often have to express ourselves in terms of mere possibilities and probabilities.

It has been well said that the history of Egypt is the history of its religion. Therefore, in giving at this point a brief outline of Egyptian history, we shall be but furnishing a kind of historical religious frame-work which should hold in bounds the account of ancient Egyptian religion to which this book is dedicated.

If the name Menes be not purely legendary—and there is no good reason for assuming that—then we may fairly safely take it to be that of Egypt's first historic king, who reigned about 3000 B.C., and established himself at Thinis (or This) near Abydos, thus inaugurating the Thinite Period in Egyptian history, consisting of the first two dynasties, lasting from about 3000 to 2780 B.C. Menes had been king of Upper Egypt, one of the war-like " Followers of Horus ". Indeed, the god Horus was considered his far-off ancestor, in whose name, and by whose right, he reigned, and he himself, like all his successors on the throne of the united Egypt, with one possible exception, was considered a Horus—the god in human form. Beginning with Menes, Egyptian kings had as their most usual title that of " Horus ", and there is every reason to believe that the expression " Horus Aḥa ", beside the name *Men*, on the tablet of ivory found at Naqâda in 1896, is the " Horus " title of Menes,[10] Egypt's first dynastic pharaoh.

Already long before Menes, Ombos, Buto, Busiris, Heliopolis, Abydos were important and holy cities. To be impartial Menes selected a comparatively unknown and insignificant town, Thinis, as his political capital, and he built an entirely new imperial city, Memphis, which from then on took its place beside the other great cities of Egypt. Indeed, it was Ptah the special god of Memphis, who, according to the tradition preserved by Manetho, was the first divine ruler of Egypt. However, Abydos, due to its association with Osiris, became, and remained throughout Egyptian history, the " holy city ", just as Heliopolis was ancient Egypt's " university "

[10] See for a contrary view, Ranke, " Eine Bemerkung zur ' Namer '-Palette ", *Studia Orientalia*, Helsingforsiae, I (1925), 167-75. However, see also W. B. Emery and Zaki Yusef Saad, *Hor-Aḥa*, Cairo, 1939, *passim*.

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city. It was in Heliopolis that priestly scholars constructed the first great hierarchy of divine beings, and it was also in Heliopolis, just about the time of the end of the Thinite period and the beginning of the Old Kingdom, in the Third Dynasty, that the astronomers of that intellectual centre constructed the first scientific calendar known to history.

The Third Dynasty (*c.* 2780-2720) ushered in what we call the Old Kingdom period, which lasted four dynasties and ended somewhere about perhaps 2270, although this date is very uncertain, as is all history in Egypt from the end of the Sixth Dynasty until the beginning of the Twelfth. It constituted a real "Dark Age". However, the four dynasties of the Old Kingdom constituted in many respects the most brilliant period in all the long history of Egypt. Its first monarch was Zoser, who made Memphis the only capital, and whose tomb was the famous Step Pyramid (or, more correctly, Maṣṭaba) at Saḳḳâreh. It was during the early years of his reign that the work on the calendar seems to have been completed. These two great works of the sciences of architecture and astronomy, miracles of execution at such an early period, less than three hundred years after the beginning of history, were no doubt largely due to the genius of the first great scientist whose name has come down to us. It was Imhotep, who built the Step Pyramid, who hundreds of years later was deified as a god of medicine, and who no doubt made his contribution to the work of the calendar. The Fourth Dynasty was a period of great expansion in royal power. Its founder, Snefru, campaigned in Nubia, Libya, and Sinai, and imported cedar wood from Syria. He was one of the great Pyramid builders, as were also Khufu, who built the greatest of all pyramids, Khafre and Menkure of the same dynasty. And during this dynasty also the artists of ancient Egypt reached a perfection never afterwards excelled and rarely equalled in the whole realm of sculpture. The statues in gold and bronze, and the ivory statuette of Khufu are things of immortal beauty. Egyptian civilization reached its zenith during the Fifth Dynasty. The ninth and last king of this great dynasty, Uni, was the first to inscribe his pyramid with texts, the beginning of the famous Pyramid Texts. During the same dynasty the priests of Heliopolis became politically supreme, and henceforth kings took an additional title, that of "Son of Rēᶜ". The Sixth Dynasty witnessed the growth and establishment of feudalism, and finally invasion by an inferior people from the north and the beginning of disintegration.

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After a kind of intermediate period, corresponding to what is known as the Eleventh Dynasty, the Middle Kingdom began about 2000 B.C., with the Twelfth Dynasty, perhaps the greatest literary dynasty in all Egyptian history. The art of the Twelfth Dynasty was characterized by an unsurpassed accuracy and refinement of design, and by a supreme delicacy of taste. This dynasty, however, is perhaps best known as one of the greatest periods of moral literature known to students of ancient ethics. Breasted designated it as the age of the dawn of conscience. The capital was now at Thebes in Upper Egypt. Beginning with the Thirteenth Dynasty, about 1788 B.C., and through the Seventeenth Dynasty, Egypt passed through its second dark period. The Hyksos, a sturdy race, came with horses from the east about 1650 B.C., subdued Egypt and reigned from Avaris in the Delta, although the princes of Thebes continued to resist. Finally, Ahmose I of Thebes, expelled the Hyksos and reigned as the last king of the Seventeenth Dynasty.

The New Kingdom or Empre Period began with the Eighteenth Dynasty about 1555 B.C., when Egypt gradually grew into a great world power. Hatshepsut's reign was a time of peace and refinement in art, and under Thutmose III all political and social life underwent great changes due to new relations with Western Asia, and wealth poured into the great capital, Thebes. The new ideal in art was sprightliness, and foreign influence, especially from Crete and Syria, was marked. The great religious reformer and fanatic, Ikhnaton, introduced into the art of Egypt a naturalism which was highly refreshing, but his pre-occupation with theological questions weakened the empire, and would have destroyed it entirely had his reign been longer, and had Seti I and Rameses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty not been great and mighty conquerors. Rameses II made his name not only as a great commander of men and wise statesman, but also as a builder. Indeed, he was the greatest of all Egypt's great builders, for evidence of his architectural activity can be found in all parts of the Valley of the Nile. With the growth of the power of Thebes went also an increase in the wealth, influence, and power of the Theban priesthood of the god Amūn-Rē^{c}, until the high priest Herihor became king, as the first pharaoh of the Twenty-first Dynasty. The nation became a virtual theocracy. Thenceforth Egypt began to lose in power and influence.

With Herihor and the Twenty-first Dynasty began in 1090 the period of Decadence, which lasted until the coming of Alexander the Great. While Herihor was supreme in Thebes, kings reigned

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independently in Tanis. A new dynasty was ushered in—the Twenty-second—by Libyan kings, one of whom was Sheshonk I, the Shishak of the Old Testament, with their capital at Bubastis. During the Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth, and Twenty-fifth Dynasties Egypt was at the mercy of kings of Nubia (Ethiopia). The Twenty-sixth Dynasty, from 663 B.C. until the coming of the Persians, was an archaizing period, and a time of partial restoration. Two of the kings were Necho and Hophra (Apries) of the Bible. In 525 B.C. Egypt was conquered by Cambyses and became a part of the Persian Empire. This formed the Twenty-seventh Dynasty. Under Artaxerxes III, Egypt revolted, and native rulers sat on the throne, during the Twenty-eighth to the Thirtieth Dynasties. In 341 B.C. she was reconquered by the Persians, which marked the end of the dynasties, and remained a province of Persia until her conquest by Alexander the Great in 332. He founded the great city of Alexandria, and during the time of his successors, the Ptolemaic kings, until 30 B.C. Egypt became really great again. Much of the finest extant architecture in Egypt, as well as objects of art, including painting, represent the Ptolemaic age. Men came from Greece and other parts of the ancient world to learn from the scholars of Alexandria, and the religion of Egypt, especially the cult of Osiris (Serapis), Isis, and Horus spread throughout the then-known world. In 30 B.C. Egypt became a province of the Roman Empire, and remained so until A.D. 642.

In this introductory chapter it remains now to indicate the classes and nature of the sources on which we base our reconstruction of the religious thought of ancient Egypt. A fairly full bibliography of the more important modern studies will be given at the end of this book in the List of Abbreviations.

Although archaeology has brought to light a good deal of useful material of the predynastic period, none of it bears any written inscriptions, for the simple reason that writing did not exist in Egypt before the time of the rise of the dynasties. The first steps in real writing were made during the First and Second Dynasties. The best examples of this primitive writing may be seen and examined on plates XLIII and XLIV of Petrie's *The Making of Egypt*, London, 1939. The longest of these inscriptions have not more than two or three short lines (e.g. Petrie RT, I, XV 16-18), while the most of them consist of groups of only two or three signs. But there was a gradual and steady advance, as is witnessed by the inscribed tablet at Sinai of the Third Dynasty and in longer

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inscriptions of the Fourth Dynasty (cf. again pl. XLIV of Petrie, *op. cit.*). By the time of the Pyramid Texts of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties the art of writing was well developed. From then on written sources become more and more numerous.

It is not our purpose here to give an outline of Egyptian literature. That may be found in part in Erman's excellent book, translated by Blackman, called *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1927. But it should be noted that the bulk of Egyptian texts are either wholly religious in content or partially so.[11] There are myths and legends of the gods, funerary formulae, liturgies, rituals for the worship of the gods and the dead, divine dramas, hymns and sacred songs, prayers, magic, precepts, and narratives of a distinctly moral character. This literature is inscribed on the walls of pyramids, temples, and tombs, on ostraca, stelae, and other monuments ; it is found on sarcophagi, coffins, and mummy cases ; and it is written, often with illustrations, on innumerable sheets and rolls of papyrus. In spite of that, the Egyptian religion never became a " Religion of the Book ", like Judaism, Christianity, or Mohammedanism. It had no " Holy Book ", although the Egyptians had their " sacred writing "—" writings of the words of the gods " often kept in a " house of sacred writings ".

Much care must be exercised in using these various classes and kinds of writings in studying the religious ideas of different periods. There will be found many inconsistencies in material of the same age, and very often late sources will be found to contain very much earlier views and ideas. The amount of both textual and literary criticism which remains yet to be done in Egyptian is enormous. Nevertheless, we are now in a position to trace, with a fair degree of accuracy, the main features and chief details of ancient Egyptian religious thought.

The earliest expressions and phrases containing religious ideas, namely, those of the first dynasties, have been collected by W. Bayer in his articles in *Anthropos*, Vols. 20-23, entitled " Die Religion der ältesten ägyptischen Inschriften ". The oldest religious text of any extent seems to be that which Shabaka, the Nubian (Ethiopian) founder of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, ordered to be copied from a worm-eaten papyrus on a stone. The stone was erected in the temple of Ptah at Memphis, but is now in the British Museum, a black granite stone, numbered 797. It contains what has been called a Memphite religious drama, which on the basis of

[11] See G. Roeder, *Urkunden zur Religion des alten Aegypten*, Jena, 1915.

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grammatical evidence, has been assigned by Sethe to about the time when Memphis was founded and had become the capital, perhaps in the time of Menes.[12]

The famous Pyramid Texts of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties contain a mass of religious material, representing the thought not only of the period when they were written, but also of centuries before it. They were published in almost complete form by Sethe, *Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*, Leipzig, in 1908-1922, and are in the process of being translated into German, with an exhaustive commentary, by Sethe (and Grapow).[13] They were translated into French by L. Speleers of Brussels in 1934.

While ancient Egypt has not left us any historical writing in the modern sense of the term, she has bequeathed to the world a great quantity of priceless documents containing historical and biographical material, dedications, memorials, mortuary, legal, scientific, and military texts, as well as festival records, proclamations, and speeches, much of which contains useful religious information. Most of this rich treasure has been collected, arranged in chronological order, from the time of Menes to the end of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, by Breasted in his *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Chicago, 1906-1907. Similar inscriptions have been discovered, from time to time, since 1907, which will be recorded in the footnotes and in the List of Abbreviations.

We have knowledge of two more dramatic texts, both from the time of the Twelfth Dynasty. One is written on a papyrus roll, discovered by Quibell during the season of 1895-96 in the Ramesseum at Thebes, and represents in dramatic form the accession and coronation of Sesostris I.[14] The other is not extant, but the memorial stone of Ikhernofret, an officer of Sesostris III, now in Berlin, gives an outline of it.[15] Both are religious dramas, and contain much religious material.

[12] K. Sethe, *Das "Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie" der Schabakostein des Britischen Museums* (*Dramatische Texte zu Altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen*), Leipzig, 1928, p. 5; on the other hand, Junker, in *Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, Berlin, 1940, would date it in the time when Memphis had become the (political) capital, that is, between the 3rd and the 5th Dynasties; cf. above, pp. 11-12.

[13] K. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den Altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, Glückstadt, Hamburg, New York, n.d., about one-half finished. Meanwhile, Sethe died in 1934, and this work has so far not been continued.

[14] K. Sethe, *Der Dramatische Ramesseum-papyrus, ein Spiel zur Thronbesteigung* des Königs, Leipzig, 1928.

[15] H. Schaefer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos*, Leipzig, 1904.

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With the increased use of papyrus[16] in the Middle Kingdom, ancient Egypt's greatest literary period, various classes of literature arose, most of them containing religious allusions. Thus, there were narratives, such as The Story of Sinuhe, The Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor, King Khufu and the Magicians ; wisdom literature, such as The Precepts of Ptah-hotep, The Instructions for Kagemni, The Instructions of King Amenemhēt ; moral material, such as, The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, The Complaints of the Peasant ; and poems, such as Hymns to King Sesostris III, Hymns to Osiris, Hymn to Thot. The use of papyrus became still more common and popular during the New Kingdom, as well as during all succeeding periods to the very end of Egyptian ancient history. Many narratives were written during the New Kingdom, such as, The Tale of Two Brothers, The Enchanted Prince, The Capture of Joppa ; and poems, hymns, and prayers, now extant, are numerous. There are, for example, The Great Hymn to Amūn, The Great Aton Hymn, Poems on Thebes and its God, Prayers to Osiris, to Thot, to Rēᶜ, to Amūn. There were also magical texts,[17] such as, the Apophis-book, and Incantations for Mother and Child. The very last dynasty also produced a drama or mystery play, which has been called " Mystère d'Horus " ;[18] as well as one of the most interesting and valuable of ancient Egypt's wisdom books, The Precepts of Amenemope.[19]

But the most voluminous of all religious literature began with the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom, continued with the Coffin Texts[20]

[16] A fairly complete list of all extant Egyptian papyri may be found in K. Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung*, Leipzig, 1933 ; compare also J. Baikie, *Egyptian Papyri and Papyrus-Hunting*, London, 1925.

[17] One of the greatest of all Egyptian magical texts, however, is not on papyrus, but on stone, namely, the famous Metternich Stela of the Thirtieth Dynasty, about 378-360 B.C.

[18] Et. Drioton, " Une scène des mystères d'Horus ", RE, II (1929), 172-99. The well-known " Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys " and " Songs of Isis and Nephthys " are perhaps also dramas or mystery plays ; cf. R. O. Faulkner, JEA, 22 (1936), 121-40, and Faulkner, Mélanges Maspero, I (1934), 337 ff. These are also of the late period.

[19] E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Precepts of Ȧmen-em-ȧpt, the Son of Ka-nekht*, *London*, 1924 ; S. A. B. Mercer, " The Wisdom of Amenemope and his Religious Ideas ", ER, II (1934).

[20] Many of the Coffin Texts were published in the years 1904-1915 by P. Lacau, in RT, Vols. 26-27, 29-34, 36-37, under the title " Textes religieux ". A definitive edition was begun in 1935 by A. de Buck, who has, so far, published three parts, Pt. I in 1935, Pt. II in 1938, and Pt. III in 1947, University of Chicago Press, called *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*.

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of the Middle Kingdom (and also of later periods), and expanded with the two great recensions of the Book of the Dead,[21] the Theban recension of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the Saitic recension of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Of the same nature of the Book of the Dead were numerous other Books, of various dates, from the Eighteenth Dynasty to the Roman Period, for example, The Book of the Dwat, The Book of Gates, The Book of Opening the Mouth, and The Book of Two Ways, of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties; The Book of Breathings and The Book of Traversing Eternity of the Post-Saitic period; as well as numerous other "books" extant or known only by name. The Coffin Texts, as their name implies, were written mostly on the inside of coffins, while the Book of the Dead and the other numerous books were usually on papyrus. Of course, there were papyrus manuscripts of various portions of the Book of the Dead, in separate forms, down to the very end of Egyptian religious life. Thus, one may quite correctly speak of Books of the Dead of the Roman Period. Indeed, there never was any agreement as to the number of chapters, or extent, of the Book of the Dead. In other words, there never was a "canonical" Book of the Dead. The title was often applied to any collection of funerary and magical texts.

Myths and legends of the gods[22] were inscribed on stone and written on papyrus and parchment from the time of the Pyramid Texts until into the Classical period. Thus, there were the Myth of Horus and Set in Ut. 215 of the Pyramid Texts, the Contendings of Horus and Set of the Chester Beatty Papyrus, the Legend of the Poisoning of Rē^{c} by Isis, the Legend of the Destruction of Mankind by Rē^{c}, the Legend of Horus of Edfu and the Winged Disk, the Legend of the Wanderings of Isis in the Delta and the Birth of Horus, the Legend of Osiris and Isis in Plutarch, etc. Even after the rise of Christianity in Egypt, the mythology of ancient Egypt was reflected in the Apocrypha.[23]

Besides the texts inscribed on the walls of temples and tombs, innumerable scenes carved and painted thereon make a substantial contribution to our understanding of religious rites and ideas. These may be studied in the many great publications of ancient

[21] Many editions and translations of the Book of the Dead have been published. A convenient translation of the Theban Recension is that of E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, second edition, London, 1923.

[22] E. A. W. Budge, *Legends of the Gods*, London, 1912; ibid. *From Fetish to God*, London, 1934, pp. 433-527.

[23] See Burmester in *Orientalia*, N.S. 7 (1938), pp. 355 ff.

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Egyptian illustrations from the *Description de l'Egypte* of Napoleon's savants to the latest parts of Wreszinski's *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1909 ff.

Of great value to modern students of ancient Egyptian religion are the numerous descriptions, comments, and references to it in Classical writings, especially in Greek. At the time of the Persian conquest Greek historians and philosophers came to Egypt in search of information. They carried on their studies as eye-witnesses with enthusiasm and often with discrimination. Among the first of these was Hecataeos of Miletos, about 520 B.C., who wrote the *Aegyptiaca*, a work which survives only in fragments. About 450 B.C. Herodotus of Halicarnassos visited Egypt, going as far south as Elephantiné. He consulted priests of Heliopolis, Memphis, and Thebes, and in his inquiry into the causes of the wars between Greeks and Barbarians, devoted the whole second book of his History to Egypt. About the same time there were written the so-called Hermetic books, which contain the supposed teaching of Hermes Trismegistos, that is, the Egyptian god Thot. The contents are magical and mystical—so far as can be judged by the extant fragments preserved in the writings of Stobaeus and others. The earliest of these books was the *Kore Kosmou*, written about 410 B.C. After the conquest of Egypt by Alexander, Greeks came in large numbers. And Manetho of Sebennytos, at the request of Ptolemy Philadelphos, compiled, from Egyptian sources, his *Aegyptiaca*, about 270 B.C. Unfortunately, the work is not wholly extant, but important elements of it have been preserved by various writers, among them being Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, 270-340, and George the Syncellus, about A.D. 800 Menander, born in Athens about 342 B.C., is useful in studying the worship of Serapis, and Diodorus Siculus of the second half of the first century B.C. in the first five books of his Historical Library treats in part of the Egyptians. Strabo, who travelled in Egypt about A.D. 27 devoted one of the books of his Geography to Egypt. But the only systematic account of certain central phases of Egyptian religion left to us by antiquity is to be found in the famous work of Plutarch of about A.D. 120, entitled *De Iside et Osiride*.[24] Much may be gathered about the later worship of Osiris in the Metamorphoses, Book XI, chapter 27, of the Roman Platonic philosopher, Apuleius, who lived about

[24] A good English version is that by S. Squire, Cambridge, 1744; cf. Budge Legends, 198 ff. L.C.L. Plu. *Mor.* V 6-191. See also List of Abbreviations in this book.

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A.D. 125 ; and Plotinus who was born in Egypt in A.D. 204 has some interesting things to say about Egyptian religion.[25]

Of greater value, however, to the student of the facts of ancient Egyptian religious thought and practice—for Classical writers were usually unable to distinguish legend from fact—are the results of modern archaeological research. No one has ever yet attempted to bring together in one work all archaeological finds which bear upon the religion of ancient Egypt. The time is not yet ripe for such a task. Consequently, accounts of these finds are scattered throughout hundreds of books and articles. However, for lack of space, it will be possible here to give only an exceedingly brief outline of the history of excavations in Egypt.[26] But among the books and articles on Egyptian religion, in our list of abbreviations given below, the reader will have at hand an indication of how to find an account of any and practically all archaeological finds bearing upon our subject.

Excavations in Egypt may be divided into four periods : The despoiling period, 1820-1850 ; a transition period, 1850-1881, under Mariette ; a third period, introduced by Petrie in 1881, when the ideal was to describe all physical evidence without any particular reference to intrinsic value ; and a fourth period, introduced by Reisner in 1908, when emphasis was laid upon a detailed examination of objects *in situ*.

After the great work of the learned campfollowers of Napoleon in 1798 and the publication of their researches in the famous *La Description de l'Egypte*, the period of despoiling began. The chief of these searchers for curios were Belzoni and Drovetti, who in their zeal to find objects for European museums destroyed almost as much as they preserved. Belzoni had the flair of a true explorer and he did many useful things—he opened the Second Pyramid of Gizeh ; he discovered the tomb of Seti I ; and he found several important royal statues, which are now in the British Museum—but his methods were unspeakable ; he crushed mummies, tossed bones, legs, arms, and heads about as if they were pieces of dead wood. However, during this period the three great general surveys of the

[25] For a complete list of Classical writers who touched on Egyptian religious ideas, with citations, see Th. Hopfner, *Fontes historici religionis Aegyptiacae*, T. I-V, Bonnae, 1922-1925.

[26] A fairly full history of Egyptian archaeology may be found in J. Baikie, *A Century of Excavation in the Land of the Pharaohs*, London, n.d. ; J. Baikie, *Egyptian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, London, 1932 ; more recent reports may be seen in *The American Journal of Archaeology* and *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*.

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monuments of ancient Egypt were made and published. First, that of the savants of Napoleon, already mentioned; secondly, that of Rosellini in 1828, in ten volumes, the *Monumenti Storichi dell'Egitto e della Nubia*; and thirdly, that of Lepsius in 1840, in the *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*.

The transition period, 1850-1881, was filled almost completely by the work of one man—Mariette, who in 1850 was sent out to Egypt by the authorities of the Louvre to buy Coptic manuscripts. But he very soon abandoned that, and went to work on his own in Memphis where he discovered the famous Serapeum. He was soon appointed by the Egyptian government as head of the Service of Antiquities, and began working for the construction of a native museum. The great Boulaq Museum in Cairo is the result of his labours. His work as an archaeologist has been criticized as hasty and lacking in thoroughness, and he was loath to publish the results of his excavations or to give any information about his discoveries. But he has to his credit some of the most important finds in the history of Egyptian archaeology. Besides the Serapeum, he discovered the Temple of Seti I at Abydos, the Necropolis of Abydos; he worked with great success at Karnak, Medinet Habu, began work at Deir el-Bahari, and excavated at Edfu.

At the beginning of the third period, 1881 to 1908, Maspero succeeded Mariette, and Egyptian archaeology began to be scientific. The most brilliant of all the archaeologists of this period was Petrie, who emphasized the importance of "unconsidered trifles" and the value of "broken earthware". His first concern was to test the various theories concerning the pyramids, which led to a thorough study of the pyramids of Gizeh. As an archaeologist, Maspero was a good second to Petrie, but was far superior to him in matters of language and religion. One of Maspero's greatest works in Egypt was the discovery and copying of the famous Pyramid Texts. The work of Petrie in the region from Dahshur to Illahun and Hawara, on the pyramids of the Twelfth Dynasty, was done in the years 1887-1891. In the Roman cemetery at Hawara he found the remarkable painted portraits, now so admired, and at Illahun he discovered what is considered the best Egyptian jewellery ever made. At Dahshur, de Morgan also worked in 1894-95, where he found in the tombs of the princesses one of the most wonderful stores of jewellery ever excavated. This third period was notable for the number of great temples uncovered. One of the greatest and most beautiful is that of Queen Hatshepsut at

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Deir el-Bahari. It has been the object of scientific study since the time of MM. Jollois and Devilliers, two of Napoleon's savants in 1798, until our own time. The greatest and most extensive work ever done on it was that by Naville, for the Egypt Exploration Fund, in 1893-1908. The vastness and splendour of Karnak have caused archaeologists to wonder from Belzoni down—its Hypostyle Hall one of the largest of human creations, and the Pylon of Hatshepsut with its obelisk towering to a height of 97½ feet. In 1903 Legrain found the "Karnak Cachette", a pit of sculptures of all types and periods. Then there was the excavation of the Granite Temple of Khafre's Pyramid, the Sphinx Temple, the Speos Artemidos, the Temple of Rameses II at Abydos, the Temples of Denderah, Medamut, Luxor, the Ramesseum, Deir el-Medina, Esna, Edfu, Kom Ombo, Philae, Abu Simbel, and many others. One of the greatest excavators of tombs was Amélineau, who worked especially at Abydos from 1895-1898, where he discovered the so-called "Tomb of Osiris". Petrie succeeded him in the work at Abydos, from 1899 to 1900. In the Valley of the Kings at Thebes, archaeologists from the time of Napoleon's savants to the present time have laboured, and have found some sixty royal tombs, among them the spectacular tomb of Tutankhamen, discovered by Carter. In 1881, Maspero and Brugsch found a Cache, not far from Hatshepsut's temple, in which mummies of some of the most famous pharaohs were found. From 1902-1912 T. M. Davis discovered many tombs of some of the most famous rulers, as well as the rich tombs of Yuaa and Tua. From 1902 to 1908 the Pyramid field of Abusir was excavated with great results by Borchardt of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft. Many outlying places were excavated by Petrie during this third period—Tanis, Naukratis, Tahpanes, Nebesheh, and Tell el-Maskhûteh by Naville.

Excavations during the fourth period, from 1908 to the present time, have been many and rich. In 1909-1910, the Eckley Coxe, Jr., Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania worked on the northern temple at Behen, near Wadi Halfa, and also at Aniba. At Thebes, Weigall, Gardiner, and Newberry examined 240 tombs and N. de G. Davies published the results. At Saḳḳâreh the Services des Antiquités under Quibell worked on about 250 brick maṣṭabas of the first three dynasties. During 1911-1912, Petrie worked on the pre-dynastic cemetery at Tarkhân, and cleared the site of the Labyrinth at Hawara. In 1913-1914, Petrie was busy at Riqqeh near Meydum, the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft was working at Tell

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el-Amarna, and Blackman at Meir and Reisner at Nagᶜed-Dêr were bringing to light much valuable material. During the war years Reisner carried on at Gizeh, and at Napata in Nubia. The mortuary chapel of Petosiris was found in 1920 by Lefebvre at Tûneh ; 1922 was the Tutankhamen year, and at Byblos Montet found an Egyptian temple. Beginning with 1924, the prehistoric in good earnest began to be unfolded by Miss Caton-Thompson in the Faiyûm, Junker at Merimde-Benisalâme, Brunton at Tasa, Petrie at Badari, and the Egyptian University of Cairo at el-Maadi. At the same time, the University of Chicago, under Sandford and Arkell, began their comprehensive prehistoric survey of Egypt. In 1923, the year before, Budge published his important " Teaching of Ȧmen-em-Ȧpt ". In 1925, Reisner found at Gizeh the alabaster sarcophagus of the mother of Khufu, and in 1926-27 Jéquier found the so-called " Pyramids of the Queens ". In 1929 Mond and Emery worked at Armant, and in 1931 Selim Hassan found, near the Sphinx at Gizeh, two tombs of the Old Kingdom, and in the same year Carlo Anti brought to light at Tebtunis much material bearing on the cult of the crocodile. The years 1933-35 were rich in archaeological finds : Pendlebury's work at Tell el-Amarna, the continuation by the Egyptian University of Cairo of its work at el-Maadi, the work of Varille and Robichon at Kom el-Ḥeṭan, the opening of the Tumuli tombs at Firka by the University of Oxford, and the work of Montet at Tanis. In 1936 Selim Hassan found the intact burial chamber of a princess of the Fourth Dynasty at Gizeh ; the Egypt Exploration Society continued work at Armant; and the Institut français d'Arch. Or. worked on the temple of Montu at Tod. From 1937 to March of 1939, the Services des Antiquités discovered the tomb of a noble, Sabu, of the First Dynasty. The body was found in its original posture ; many inscribed monuments were found by the Institute of Archaeology of Liverpool at Athribis ; Capart worked at el-Kâb ; and at Tanis, Montet discovered a tomb believed to be that of Pesibkhenno, the pharaoh whose daughter married Solomon. The body was in a silver case inside the sarcophagus. These are among the more important of thousands of objects, many of them bearing inscriptions, which the student of ancient Egyptian religion must use in any attempt to reconstruct as true a picture as possible of the religion or religions which constituted the faith of mankind in Egypt from prehistoric times down to the coming of Christianity, and later of Mohammedanism, to the Valley of the Nile

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CHAPTER II

THE WORLD, GODS, AND MEN

THE world to us to-day is still full of mystery and awe. How much more so to the ancient Egyptian! And just as the imagination of children is less restrained than that of grown-ups, so the imagination of primitive men was vastly more active than is our imagination. So the men of Egypt saw heaven as an immense and friendly cow standing over them, upheld by gods, and with the morning boat of the sun sailing under her star-spangled

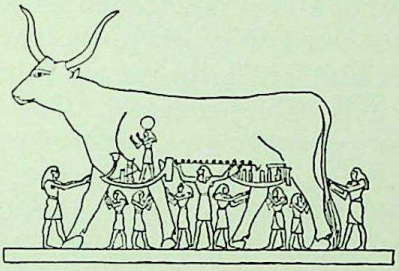

Fig. 1
HEAVEN AS A COW

belly. Not quite so fantastic were those who imagined heaven as a woman, bending over the earth, with an excessively elongated body, upheld by a god, and with the sun as a beetle, or a winged disk, or simply a disk under her body and legs. Both these ideas,

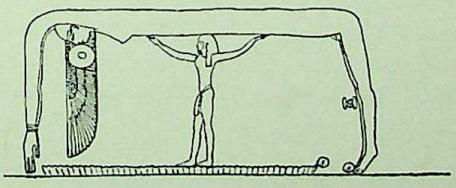

Fig 2
HEAVEN AS A WOMAN

fanciful and poetic, were perpetuated not only by repetition and teaching, but likewise by art which found it convenient and striking.

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Heaven was personified as a feminine being, perhaps because the Egypt word for heaven, *p.t*, was feminine, just as the earth was masculine perhaps because the word for earth, *tȝ*, was masculine. This being was deified as the goddess Nut, although other goddesses were also considered heaven-goddesses, such, for example, as Hathor, who was then represented as a woman with head and horns of a cow. The legs and arms of the woman, or the four legs of the cow, represented the four supposed pillars on which the sky rested. It was later supposed that heaven rested on four mountains or other supports, just as the earth, beneath it, rested on its mountains. Under the cow, or woman, that is, on the face of heaven, there was thought to be a sea, on which the boats of the sun sailed, and which was the source of rain. The earth was pictured as a man lying on his belly (according to other accounts, on his back), out of whose back things grew, and who was surrounded by an ocean. Part of the earth was red and sterile, where the barbarians live ; the other part was black and fertile, the home of the Egyptians. The earth also was personified and deified as Geb. Between heaven and earth there was supposed to be just " emptiness ", *šwi*. The Egyptians personified and deified this as a god, Shu. With other gods, he supported the cow, and alone he upheld the woman, Shu stood on the earth, upholding the heavens with his arms. The Nile

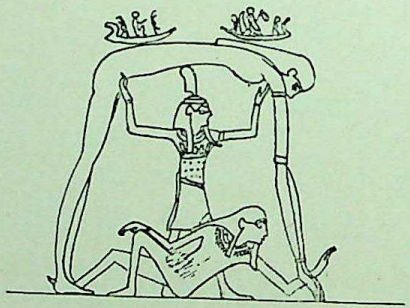

Fig. 3
SHU UPHOLDING THE HEAVENS WITH HIS ARMS

was given to men by the gods, who caused its inundations to come forth from the underworld at the First Cataract. As the word for " Nile " and " inundation " is the same, *ḥ*^{c}*pi*, no doubt, to the Egyptians they were one and the same thing, the inundation being an unusual condition of the Nile. The Nile would then be thought to have its source at the First Cataract. The Nile also

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was personified and deified, a god with the breasts of a goddess. Beneath the earth was an underworld, dark and forbidding, where the sun entered every evening, and through which it passed during the night, to issue from it in the east every morning. As a river

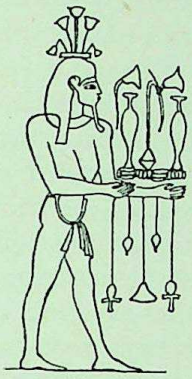

Fig. 4
NILE, PART MAN PART WOMAN

was thought to run through it, on which the sun sailed in his evening boat, it was sometimes considered a kind of second heaven, and such it was called (PT 149). In the underworld are the dead, who rejoice to see the sun, and who tow his boat. At the sun's exodus from the underworld, apes rejoice to see him again. Another fancy represented the sun as entering the mouth of the heaven-woman, passing through her body during the night, and being born anew in the morning. Still another, imagined the sun dwelling on an island in the sea of heaven, called *3ḫ.t*, or perhaps (but, at any rate, later) the horizon, hence the name, *Ḥr 3ḫ.ti* (Ἀράχθης). Very often the sun was thought to possess a house in heaven in the field of Iaru.

Usually the sun was pictured as a red disk, on the head of a falcon, or alone, sailing across the heavens in its morning boat.

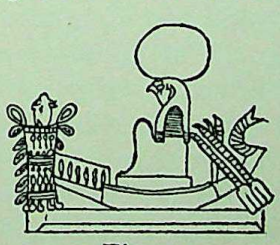

Fig. 5
THE SUN AS A RED DISK

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The boat was sometimes thought to be of gold, built by the gods, and manned by the personified stars. Sometimes the Egyptian imagination pictured the sun as a great beetle, *ḫpr*, pushing the disc of the sun across the sky before it. Then again, it was thought to be a golden calf, born of the sky-cow in the morning, which grew to be a bull and fertilized his mother so as to be born anew as the sun next morning. This bull was called *k3-mwt.f*, "bull of his mother", and known in Greek times as *Καμ ηφις*. By those who represented the heavens by a woman, the sun, her child, was born in the morning and grew to be an old man by evening. According to the theological speculations of the people of Heliopolis, the sun as an old man, at eventide was personified and deified as Atum, at noon it was Rē^{c}, and in the morning it was Khepri. Finally, the sun was very often thought to be a falcon, perhaps because that much-admired bird flew so high as to seem united with the sun. As such, it took the form either of a simple falcon, or of a man with the head of a falcon as his head, and a typical Egyptian inconsistency made the sun and the moon the two eyes of the sun-god. Another inconsistency made the sun the eye of the sun-god and the moon the eye of Horus (another sun-god). The eye of the sun was thought to be destructive and was represented as a serpent, or—by confusion of thought—as two serpents. Furthermore, the one serpent was considered the diadem of the king, signifying the protecting power of the sun-god; while the two crowns (those of Upper and Lower Egypt) were represented by two serpents, or by a vulture and a serpent. These were personified and deified as two goddesses, standing for the eyes of the sun-god. Such a goddess, as eye of the sun-god, could be employed by him as an agent or messenger. Thus the sun-god Rē^{c} sent out the goddess Hathor, one of his eyes, to slaughter mankind. On the other hand, the sun-god's eye, as a goddess, could protect the living king, or nurse a dead king. One of these serpent-goddesses, who adorned the head-dress of the sun-god or the king, as a protégé of the sun-god, was the powerful Uraeus. Though all-powerful, the sun-god was often in peril of clouds and storms. His worst enemy was personified as the demon Apophis (*c3pp*), the Greek *Ἄποπις*, but on his many voyages through the underworld he was protected by his faithful guardian, the *3bḏw*-fish. The great sun-god was Rē^{c} (*r^{c}*), a personification and deification of the sun. (A full account of Rē^{c} will be found in chapter VII.)

The second eye of the sun-god was also the eye of Horus,

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that is, the eye of Horus, as sun-god. This eye of Horus was the moon. Thus, another confusion of thought made the sun-god equivalent to a sky-god, one of whose eyes represented Rē^{c}, the sun-god, and the other Horus, also a sun-god. And still another confusion of thought—or another ethnic legend—made Horus a sky-god, whose right eye was the sun and his left eye the moon. At any rate, the moon was that eye of Horus which an evil being wounded, and which a good being healed. The former was the god Set, and the latter the god Thot. Now, strange to say, Thot himself was a moon-god, although the moon was personified and deified as the god, *ʾiʿḥ*, who never played a rôle of any importance.

The sky-goddess Nut had many children. They were the stars, whom the goddess brought forth in the evening and swallowed in the morning. The greatest of them were "the stars that never set", that is, the imperishable stars, the circumpolar stars; and "the stars that never rest", always accompanied the boat of the sun. The morning-star was thought to wash the face of the sun every morning and bring him his breakfast, while the lazy stars were those who fell to the earth—which we call "shooting-stars". The circumpolar stars were "the followers of Osiris"; Sothis (*śpd.t*) or Sirius, the dog-star, was identified with Isis; Orion (*sꜣḥ*) was identified with Osiris; and *ʾipḏś*, one of the seven stars of Orion, was identified with Horus. In later times fancy saw in the myriads of stars the blessed dead, in heaven, accompanying Rē^{c}, their king and god.

By the beginning of the Neolithic Age, Egyptians were living in huts, grouped into villages, making pots and crude brick, using grain, pasturing cattle, and carefully burying their dead. Of this we have contemporaneous evidence. In time, groups of these villages formed clans, with the chief or more important village as the clan-town. Then clans united into larger divisions, later called nomes, and the chief or more important town in the group became the nome-city, or capital of the nome.

There is reason to think that every clan (if not every village) planted above the fortified gates of its chief town a rallying sign, a talisman, a fetish, an emblem, an ensign—all possible descriptions of the same object. In the case of sea-coast, or river-bank clans, the same ensign decorated the clan boats. Thus, each clan had its own distinctive ensign. The clan was a territorial division with such ensigns as a falcon, an elephant, a solar disk, a thunderbolt, a mountain, two crossed arrows. These have actually been found

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drawn on pottery and walls of tombs in Upper Egypt, but almost certainly in reference to Delta territorial divisions. The clan ensign became a kind of fetish, heraldic crest, double, or representative of the clan, much respected and cherished. As a rule, the clan named itself after the name of the ensign of its capital.

As clans with their ensigns, in time, developed into nomes with their ensigns, the most important towns becoming capital cities, so predynastic Egypt came to consist of groups of nomes with their towns and capital cities. Thus, on predynastic decorated vases and on the walls of painted tombs there are scenes of houses and boats with ensigns, some of which are the same as those of clans. Some of these ensigns of clans as well as of nomes remained in use to the end of Egyptian civilization. Newberry[1] has shown that out of 288 boats depicted on decorated vases, 166 fly the ensign of the later Harpoon nome, and 80 bear that of other later western Delta nomes. Similar ensigns appear on palettes of schist, ivory knife-handles and combs, and on seal cylinders of a later date, which have undoubtedly an earlier origin. Some of these ensigns can be traced from clan to nome, such as, for example, the falcon, the mountain, the cross-arrows. Just as the clan was named after the name of the ensign of its capital, so later the nome was named after the name of its capital city. And when such a city came to possess a sanctuary, the city was very often called the " house of" the deity worshipped in the sanctuary. Thus, the city Busiris was the " House of Osiris ". And sometimes the deity was called after his nome city. Thus, we have " Horus of *Bḥd.t* ", " Set of *Nwb.t* ". Furthermore, when the ensign of a nome became a god, the deity was both god and ensign of both capital and nome. Thus, in the fifteenth Lower Egyptian nome, the ibis was both ensign and god of the capital and nome. Sometimes, however, the nome god was not the same as the city god, occurring, no doubt, in certain cases, where the god of a comparatively unimportant town received recognition as nome god, at the same time that the capital city god retained his place of importance as god of the metropolis. On the other hand, especially later, some gods became supreme in several different nomes, such as Horus, Osiris, Hathor, Thot, etc.

The division of Upper and Lower Egypt into a definite number of nomes dates certainly from before the beginning of the historic period, each nome being designated or named by its ensign, and may have had its origin in Lower Egypt. Of these nomes of the

[1] P. E. Newberry, " Some Cults of Prehistoric Egypt ", AAA, 5 (1913), 136.

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historic period, it has been estimated that about half of them took their ensigns from the prehistoric clans and nomes. Thus, the falcon, crossed arrows, harpoon, etc., were ensigns of well-known nomes in Lower and Upper Egypt after the time of the beginning of the dynasties. According to tradition, there were in historic times in Upper Egypt 22 and in Lower Egypt 20 nomes, each with an ensign.

The Pyramid Texts preserve the title of the rulers of early groups of men. It is the word *śeru* (PT 1041), a title which possibly designated the head-man of the prehistoric village, the chief of the clan, as well as the nomarch, and, then, later, when kingdoms were developed, the *śeru* became the king. And since the real ruler of the nome or kingdom was the god, the nomarch, and later, the king was called the son of the god.

In any reconstruction of Egyptian religious ideas, myths and legends are most important. But they must be used with caution. Originally they contained the popular philosophy of their age, and they were altered and added to from time to time in accordance with changed conceptions and new ideas. Two things put an end to alteration; first, the change from oral to written form, and, secondly, the adoption into official and formalized cults. If one may judge by means of the many fragments and allusions to myths and legends in extant literature, they must have been quite numerous in ancient Egypt, and new ones came into being from time to time. In them the imagination was free to work its will with the unknown. Gods were multiplied with ease, and their doings were described in terms of human experience, only exaggerated and highly coloured. Having to do with gods and demons, they were considered sacred and often secret, and references to them were continually made in conversation, no doubt, as well as in the written word. Thus, Isis was referred to as "lady of the marshes", Horus was called "avenger of his father", etc. It was these myths and legends which gradually stereotyped the character of many of the deities. Thus, Isis was the ideal wife and mother, Horus the dutiful son, Thot the just judge, and Set the wicked murderer. All myths were religious in origin and so were most legends, but sometimes they lost their religious character, such, for example, as the *Tale of Two Brothers*, where the two brothers were originally, no doubt, Anubis and the minor god Bata. Although most Egyptian myths and legends, that are extant, are in late form, there is no doubt but that many, if not all of them, are very early in origin. Thus, Horus,

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is the son of Osiris in the Pyramid Texts as well as in Plutarch; the confusion of the two Horuses is traceable in our earliest sources; and Isis as a swallow lamenting over Osiris contained in the tree is traceable to Old Kingdom texts.[2] Indeed, most of our religious literature comes from the period of the Old Kingdom, and is coloured by the thought of the schools of Heliopolis and Memphis.

Men always and everywhere have speculated about creation, and the beginnings of things. In a land like Egypt, where one of the most noticeable and most important events in the life of the people was the annual inundation, when water covered the ground, and then when the waters subsided dry land appeared, the idea was quite obvious that thus the world came into being. It arose out of a great primaeval water. And such were the unknown qualities of the great abyss, and the awe which it inspired, that men thought and spoke of it as if it were a divine person. Thus, they personified and deified it, and called it Nun (*nwnw*). Then on the ground which appeared above water things grew and came to life. Out of the egg of a water-fowl came a new living creature. A lotus grew up out of the water, and imagination could see a god in the form of a child sitting in the bud, who finally rode on the back of a cow which was swimming in the water. Now the child was the sun and the cow was the sky. Another legend has it that the sun sat on a stone, the *benben*-stone, which was the obelisk-shaped stone of Heliopolis read back into primaeval life. Fancy reasoned that it was the sun, the first-born of the great abyss which gave birth to the gods. The sun was then the father of the gods, Atum (later Rē^{c}), and as a man could see a man in the eye of another, so it was thought men came out of the eye of Atum. When the world was created heaven and earth were not yet separated. That is, Nut, "heaven", was a woman, lying upon Geb, "earth", a man. The father of Nut, Shu, "atmosphere", lifted her up, with the sun and his boats, and stars, and stood, supporting her with his two arms, above the earth.[3] The stars also were gods.

[2] Cf. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology*, London, 1930, 139, and notes 4 and 5.

[3] The scientific, philosophic, and religious ideas of early men—as, indeed, of men of all ages and climes—are moulded and coloured, to a large extent by their physical surroundings. Thus, in Egypt, as the inundation of the Nile year by year covered the ground, and then the water subsided and earth appeared, so, it was thought that the world arose out of the great primaeval abyss, called *Nun*. Likewise in Babylonia, it was thought that the earth arose out of the elementary abyss, called *Apsu*; and the same idea is to be found in the first chapter

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Then, Atum, the sun-god, in heaven, gave the government of the earth to Geb,[4] assisted by a council of gods, who, according to Heliopolitan theological language, were the ennead, and Nut he

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of Genesis. This primaeval abyss, or chaotic mass was considered eternal in Egypt as well as in Babylonia and in Israel ; in Egypt it was thought to be the father of the gods, and likewise in Babylonia where Apsu was believed to be the first god. Out of the chaotic mass appeared spontaneously the divine creator of the world, whose name changes according to the locality whence the myth came ; thus, Atum or Rēᶜ in Heliopolis, Ptah in Memphis, Thot in Hermopolis, Khnum at Elephantiné, etc. The creator-god, by means of his spoken word, provided a place for himself to stand on—a hill or mountain, according to both Egyptian and Babylonian thinkers—where he performed his creative acts, the first of which was the making of the other gods. In Heliopolis, where the sun-god was dominant, Atum (or Rēᶜ) created Thot as his representative, and so the moon came into being. According to another myth, the gods were a corporeal development of Atum (or Rēᶜ) by masturbation. The Egyptians represented the earth as a god lying prone, which may have been suggested by the long, narrow valley of the Nile, or a portion of it ; and in Babylonia as well as in Egypt, the earth was believed to be encircled by the deep. But the absence of flood stories is understandable in a country like Egypt where there is always a full and regular supply of water, while in Babylonia the heavy rains in April combined with the melting of snow by the warm south winds meant frequent floods.

Though man was as naturally thought to have been made by a potter-god in Egypt (Ptah of Memphis, or Khnum of Elephantiné) as in Babylonia (Enki of Eridu), or by the divine word in one country as in the other, in Babylonia he was said to have been a mixture of earthly clay and divine blood, while in Egypt he was thought to have been born of the tears of Rēᶜ or Khepri. It was the climate of Egypt, no doubt, which accounts for the rich and colourful ideas about man's future, his resurrection, his immortality, and his life in the world beyond the grave, and which marks the greatest difference in the religious and cultural conceptions of the two renowned nations of the ancient Oriental world. According to Egyptian faith, man not only rose from the dead, physically as well as spiritually, to live eternally in heaven, but he was also endowed with the right to become a god in the next world and to be identified with any one of many gods—to become a god just like the deceased divine pharaoh. But to the Babylonian the future promised nothing desirable, and what was worse it was a " land of no-return ", no return from a prison-house of sorrow and desolation, while the " land of no-return " in Egypt (PT 2175) meant no return from a paradise of joy and perfect peace. Thus, as we have already seen, the history of religion is in many respects an account of certain mental reactions to the situations in which they arose and grew. Moreover, the general uniform character of early religion points to the simplicity and uniformity of interests of all men everywhere in early times.

[4] According to another legend both Shu and Geb reigned as kings upon earth. See Budge Fetish, " Legend of Shu and Gebb when they reigned as kings upon earth ", pp. 438-44.

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placed in command of heaven.[5] In another legend, the sun-god now Rē^{c}, appointed, as his representative in heaven, the moon, who was personified and deified, in the minds of men, as Thot; thus the moon came into being.[6]

In spite of the power and majesty of Rē^{c}, men rebelled against him, the fancy being due to the oppressive heat of the sun in summer. But he overcame his enemies and established right instead of wrong in the world.[7] A variation in the same legend represents the god as taking the form of a great cat, which destroyed the rebels (BD 17, 18 ff. of the Pap Nebseni). In the legend of the destruction of mankind it is revealed that when Rē^{c} became old, men again rebelled against him. This story is perhaps due also to fancy working on the obscuration of the sun at eventide by the clouds. In any case, the legend goes on to say that the eye of the god went forth against them in the form of his daughter Hathor. In her zeal, Hathor would put an end to men, which considerably worried her father, so that he contrived, by making the goddess drunk with beer, to persuade her to desist her work of destruction and come home.[8] Fragments of another legend tell how Rē^{c} sent forth his eye, but it did not return. He, therefore, sent Shu and Tefnut to fetch it. The eye resisted and in the argument was brought to tears, out of which, as we have also seen above, men arose. When the eye finally returned, Rē^{c} set it as a serpent on his forehead, a symbol of that power by which the eye of Rē^{c} rules the world.[9] Rē^{c} is said, in a late legend, to have named his eye, his daughter, his diadem. At her death she begged her father to allow a statue of her once a year to look upon the sun, which gave rise to one of the best known ceremonies in the temple of Hathor, daughter of Rē^{c}, at Dendera.[10] A legend similar to the above stories about the eye of Rē^{c} tells how the goddess Tefnut lived, as a lioness, in the Nubian desert. Her father Rē^{c} wanted to have her at home with him, so

[5] See for the legend of creation, E. A. W. Budge, *Legends of the Gods*, London, 1912.

[6] "The Legend of the Destruction of Mankind", Budge, *op. cit.* This account of Thot is in a portion of the text which has nothing to do with the destruction of mankind.

[7] BD, 17; PT Ut., 265-6.

[8] See Budge Legends, pp. 14 ff.

[9] Budge Nesiamsu, 168 ff.; cf. BD, 17; Sethe Sonnenauge, 26; Junker Onurislegende, 5 ff. Shu was called also Onuris, he who brought back the "far-off one".

[10] Canopus Stela (Budge), ll. 55-6; see also Herodotus, II 129-32.

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he sent two gods to fetch her, Shu, in the form of a lion, and Thot. They changed themselves into two apes and appeared before Tefnut. Thot succeeded in persuading the goddess to return home. On her way back, at Philae, she transformed herself into a beautiful goddess, and at Dendera she revealed herself as Hathor.[11] With this story as a model, a number of fables were created during the Roman period, among them being that of the *lion and the mouse*. In these stories the daughter of Rēᶜ took the form of a lioness or a cat. At el-Kâb she became the vulture-goddess, Nekhbet, at Thebes she became Mut, and finally appeared as Tefnut.[12] A legend about Rēᶜ and the great goddess, Isis, illustrates the magic power of Isis, which, according to Egyptian fancy, was powerful against even Rēᶜ. The goddess determined to know the secret name of Rēᶜ, and thereby gain power over him. So, she caused a serpent to bite him. Rēᶜ called upon the gods of magic to heal him. Isis appeared among them, and assured Rēᶜ that she could heal him if he revealed to her his name. He said he was Khepri in the morning, Rēᶜ at noon, and Atum in the evening. Hence the great power of Isis.[13] Rēᶜ, like all Egyptians had a mortal dread of serpents. The most fearsome of all these was the reptile-demon Apophis. During Rēᶜ's daily voyage across the heavens, Apophis loved to attack him, but Rēᶜ was always victorious, for he rose again next morning in all his glory. But one could never tell, so a liturgy was recited with symbolic ceremonies, and a wax figure was made of the demon which was trampled upon, gashed with a flint knife and burned. This myth in the form of a liturgy is extant, and is called *The Book of the Overthrowing of Apophis*.[14]

The fullest and richest myths and legends of ancient Egypt grew up around the names of Osiris, Isis, Horus and Set. There are two great myths which involve in detail all four of these deities. They are *The Contendings of Horus and Set*, contained in the Chester Beatty Papyrus No. 1, and the *De Iside et Osiride* of Plutarch.[15] The story in Plutarch is the more comprehensive, and though, in its present full extant form, representing the Graeco-Roman period, it is very clearly an exceedingly old myth, for allusions to details

[11] See Sethe Sonnenauge, *passim*; also Junker Onurislegende, *passim*.
[12] Spiegelberg Mythus, *passim*.
[13] Budge Fetish, "The Legend of the Poisoning of Rā by Isis", pp. 459-463.
[14] Apoph, *passim*; cf. Budge Fetish, pp. 516-21.
[15] See for the former, Gardiner Beatty Gift, and Budge Fetish, 444-57; and for the latter, Budge Legends, 198-248.

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in it are extant in many places in the Pyramid Texts (cf. as an example Ut. 215) and other religious literature. Thus, from literature other than the great myths, from all periods in Egyptian history, we can gather that Osiris was thought to be the son of Geb and Nut, that Set was the brother of Osiris, that Thot was also Osiris's brother, that Set killed Osiris and cast his body in the water, that Osiris was bewailed and mourned, that Isis and Nephthys, his sisters found him and revived him, that Isis took up a position on the corpse of Osiris, in the form of a falcon, and gave birth to Horus, that Nephthys helped to raise Horus, that Horus fought with Set to avenge his father, tearing out his testicles, while Set tore out the eye of Horus, that Horus was victorious and took back his eye, that Horus gave the eye to Osiris to make him mighty, that in a court set up by Geb, Set was found guilty and condemned to carry Osiris on his back, and that Osiris became king. In addition to this logical outline of a standard myth of Osiris, Isis, Horus, and Set, culled from extant literature, many other details, which come out in other preserved myths and legends, can be collected. Thus, we find reference to the cutting off of the hands of Horus ; to the four sons of Horus by Isis, whom Anubis charged with the burial of Osiris, with opening his mouth, and with mummification in general ; to the four children of Geb and Nut, namely, Osiris, Set, Isis, and Nephthys ; to Osiris as ruler, to whom Geb gave his heritage ; to the jealousy of Set, and the way in which he secured Osiris in a chest and cast him into the sea ; to the way in which Isis sought and found the body of her husband ; to the burial and resuscitation of Osiris, after which he became a god of the dead ; to the flight of Isis from Set to the swamps of the Delta, where posthumously Horus was born, and when Isis came under the protection of the goddess Buto ; to the manhood of Horus and his fight with Set, in avenging his father ; to the way in which both Horus and Set were wounded, but were separated by Thot ; to the judgment hall, where Set protested against the legitimacy of the birth of Horus, and the issue of the process in favour of Horus ; and to the ascent of Osiris to heaven or his descent to the underworld, when Osiris became First of the Westerners (that is, of the dead), Horus first of the living, and last divine king to rule over Egypt.[16]

[16] This outline has been drawn from numerous passages in the Pyramid Texts, some passages in the Book of the Dead, the great Hymn of Osiris (Budge Fetish, 420-4), the Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys (Budge Fetish, 521-4), and Griffith Siut Rifēh, I 234.

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A brief outline of Plutarch's story will now show how old and how true that account is to the mythological thinking of the ages, in ancient Egypt, from the time of the Pyramids down to the Greek period. Indeed, the Greek myth preserved by Plutarch contains material as old as the Pyramid Texts, for the five intercalary days, described by him as the birthdays of the five deities, Osiris, Horus, Set, Isis, and Nephthys, are already referred to in PT 1961. The myth begins by telling how Rē^{c} cursed Nut so that she might not be able to bear children in any month, but Thot created for her the five intercalary days, on which her five children were born. When Osiris was born a voice in the temple at Thebes cried that the great and good king was born. As soon as Osiris began to reign, he taught men culture, through the medium of reason and music. But Set was jealous of him, and he and his seventy-two associates made a chest to fit Osiris, and when their ruse succeeded they cast him in the Nile, and he was carried to the sea, and finally to Byblos. Isis went through the land seeking her husband. She finally found the chest in a tree, which the king of Byblos made into a pillar for his palace. Isis made acquaintance with the women of the royal house of Byblos, so that the King took her as nurse for his children. At night Isis caused to be consumed by fire the mortal part of one of the children, but the queen caught her flying around the pillar as a swallow. Isis revealed herself and freed the chest from the pillar. The weeping of Isis caused the death of the youngest royal son. The eldest she decided to take to Egypt with her, but on seeing her kissing the corpse of Osiris, he fell dead at the magic glance of the goddess. On her arrival in Egypt, Horus was posthumously born, and reared at Buto. But Set found the corpse of Osiris and cut it into fourteen pieces, all of which Isis found, except the phallus, eaten by a fish, and she buried each piece at the place where she found it. On his return from the underworld, Osiris prepared Horus to avenge him. After a fight of many days' duration Horus was victorious over Set, and bound him, but Isis freed Set. Horus became angry and struck off the head of his mother, but Set put on her shoulders the mask of a cow's head. Set accused Horus of illegitimacy, but Thot defended Horus before the gods. In two subsequent encounters between uncle and nephew, Horus was again successful.

Certain ideas are clearly indicated in this account of Plutarch: Plutarch was interested in the philosophical side of the story; he wanted to bring out the righteousness of Osiris, the loyalty

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of Isis, and filial piety of Horus; he emphasized the wickedness of Set; he showed that the Egyptians believed in the spiritual resurrection of Osiris; and all indications suggest that the geographical background of the sources used by Plutarch was the Delta. This story, which arose at the very dawn of Egyptian history, no doubt varied considerably in different localities for, perhaps, many years. Finally, however, it was taken up—and probably quite early—and made a part of official religious belief, becoming considerably stereotyped.

The legal process between Horus and Set is fully treated, with much detail, involving many of the gods, including Osiris, Rē^{c}, and Isis, in the recently discovered Chester Beatty Pap No. 1, the *Contendings of Horus and Set*. This papyrus is to be dated in the Nineteenth Dynasty, but it is clear that the original is still earlier and not later than the Twelfth Dynasty, for the Middle Kingdom Pap Kahun, pl. 3, contains a duplicate of the part about sodomy in Chester Beatty No. 1. There are also duplicates in Pap Sall. IV 26 ff. about the hippopotami and the beheading of Isis. In the *Contendings of Horus and Set* the battle is a legal one. The whole proceeding is carried out just as in a human lawsuit. The gods are the court, Horus is a fatherless boy, Set is a tough and rough lout, but Isis is very clever. Rē^{c} the judge favours Set, for Set is Rē^{c}'s bodyguard against his enemies. Both the enneads are there. Shu-Onuris conducts the case and Thot is the secretary. Atum is like a king who observes. The question to be decided is as to whether Horus is the real son of Osiris. The trial lasted eighty years. Many stormy scenes took place. Shu-Onuris and Thot were both in favour of Horus. Set's conscience was never clear, so he always tried to convert the contest into a physical fight. Rē^{c} would consent but he was always resisted. A stalemate arose and Atum advised to call in the Buck of Mendes. This latter recommended writing a letter to Neit, mother of the gods for advice. Thot wrote and received Neit's reply which was to the effect that the office of Osiris should be given to his son Horus and that Set should be punished. The gods agreed that Neit was right, but Rē^{c} was displeased and said that Horus was too weak physically to assume the office of Osiris (cf. Plutarch, chapter 19). The gods opposed Rē^{c} in this, and Rē^{c} sulked in his tent a whole day. But Rē^{c}'s daughter Hathor came and comforted him, so that he returned to court. Another important session took place in which the gods seemed to veer towards Rē^{c} and Set. This stirred the anger of

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Isis, who swore to take the matter before Atum in Heliopolis. The gods calmed Isis and assured her that right would be done. Set now became furious, saying he would take his club and kill a god a day, and swore by the All-lord that he would not stay in court while Isis was there. Rē^{c} decided to move the court to an island, and gave orders to the ferryman not to allow a woman to come to the island. Whereupon Isis disguised herself as an old woman and persuaded the ferryman to take her over. Then she turned herself into a beautiful young girl. Set saw her and tried to seduce her. She then told the story of Osiris, Horus, and Set in the form of a young cow-boy, her son, who is persecuted by his cruel uncle (cf. Nathan and David). She asked Set to defend her son. He agreed to do so. Whereupon Isis transformed herself into a bird, crying "Shame on you." Set told his experience to the court. The court then left the island and established themselves on the Mountain of the West. Rē^{c} seemed to have a change of heart, for he and Atum wrote a letter to the gods directing that the White Crown (Upper Egypt) be given to Horus, and that he be put in the office of his father. Set was furious, and demanded that the White Crown be thrown into the water, where he and Horus might fight for it. Agreed. Set and Horus became hippopotami. Isis intervened and harpooned Set, but in pity freed him. Horus became furious and struck off the head of his mother. A break comes in the papyrus at this point, but Pap Sall. IV 2, 6-3, 6 and Plutarch say that Thot gave Isis the head of a cow (that is, Isis was identified with Hathor, and both were heaven-goddesses). The gods wanted to punish Horus, but he fled. However, Set found him and tore out his eyes, which he buried, and from the ground where they were buried two trees grew up. Hathor sought and found Horus. She caught a gazelle, milked it, and with the milk healed the two eyes. She reported to the gods, who summoned Set and Horus. Rē^{c} advised them to be off and stop their quarrelling. Set invited Horus to his house, where he made a sodomic attempt on him. Whereupon Set made a new proposal, namely, that each make a boat of stone, and the one successful in a voyage would win. Horus made a boat out of cedar wood, but deceived Set by covering it with stucco. Set made his boat out of stone. In the presence of the gods the contest began. Set sank, but changed himself into a hippopotomus and wrecked the boat of Horus. Horus, however, harpooned Set, and went in his boat to Neit in Sais to ask the aid of that powerful goddess. We do not know what her

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answer was, but Horus appealed also to Osiris. Osiris wrote a letter to the gods warning against further trouble for Horus, and pointed out that as master of all grain he could make it difficult for them if they did not heed him. Rēᶜ became ironical, but when the letter was read to the All-lord and the ennead they approved. The court finally decided in favour of Horus, ordered Set to be brought in bonds. Set surrendered his rights. Horus was set on the throne of Osiris, crowned with the White Crown, and Isis greeted him as king. Ptah then asked what was to be done with Set. Rēᶜ asked to have Set as his son, and, according to Pap Sall. IV 9, 4-6, Set was given the red land, that is, the desert.

The whole story is Lower Egyptian in colouring as are almost all legends about the gods Osiris, Isis, Rēᶜ, Horus and Set.

Another myth concerned almost entirely with the struggle between Horus and Set—but in this case a physical battle—is the famous *Legend of Horus of Behdet*,[17] inscribed on the walls of the Ptolemaic Temple of Horus at Edfu. We shall now give a brief outline of it : Rēᶜ was in Nubia warring against his enemies. On his way home, down the river, he stopped at Edfu, where Horus visited him on his boat and told him that there was a conspiracy on foot against him. Rēᶜ, addressing Horus as his son, commanded him to set out against these rebels. Accordingly Horus took the form of a winged sun disk so as to fly and discover the whereabouts of the rebels. Now the great enemy of Rēᶜ was Set. So Horus and Set engage in a contest which lasted a long time. At length Horus drove his spear into the neck of Set and felled him to the ground. Horus promptly beheaded both Set and his followers in the very presence of Rēᶜ and Isis, and he dragged Set by his feet through the country with his spear sticking in his head and neck. Now by some means or other Set came to life again, and took the form of a serpent and hid himself in the ground. However, in front of this hiding-place, Horus, who had taken the form of a falcon-headed staff, stood to prevent Set from coming out. In spite of this Set escaped. Many more battles ensued. The last great fight in the north took place at Tanis, where Horus was victorious. However, hostilities broke out in Nubia, but they were soon ended, and Horus returned in triumph to Edfu. Then Rēᶜ ordered that the symbol of Horus of Edfu, a winged sun disk, should be placed in many sanctuaries, and that every such sanctuary

[17] E. Naville, *Textes relatifs au Mythe d'Horus recueillis dans le temple d'Edfou*, Geneva et Basle, 1870 ; see also Budge Fetish, 467-80.

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should be a sanctuary of Horus Behdet. In addition to this central myth, which has to do with Rēᶜ, Set, and Horus of Edfu (the southern Behdet), there is a kind of appendix, which contains a life of Horus from his birth to his triumph over Set (Naville, pls. 22-24).

The central part is a myth local to Edfu. The whole in its present form is not earlier than the time when Astarte came to Egypt,[18] and perhaps not earlier than the New Kingdom,[19] but it contains very early material and records events which may have been historical but are rendered almost unrecognizable by later speculation and misunderstanding.

A brief myth of the birth of Horus occurs in a hymn to Osiris of perhaps the Eighteenth Dynasty, but, no doubt, based upon older material, for it is a close parallel to what is found in the Pyramid Texts.[20] There are many bits of legends scattered throughout Egyptian religious literature. Thus, there is a brief legend of the *Eye of Horus and the Black Pig* in chapter 112 of the Book of the Dead ;[21] a legend of *Khnum and of Seven Years' Famine*, inscribed on a block of granite on a little island at the First Cataract ;[22] a legend of *Khonsu the Caster-out of Devils*, on a stela found at Thebes, now in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris ;[23] the legend of the *Death and Resurrection of Horus*, on the famous Metternich stela, death being brought about through the sting of a scorpion, and his resurrection by the power of the god Thot. This little legend is a part of a large one, on the same stela, called the legend of the *Wanderings of Isis*.[24] The same stela also contains the usual legendary account of the birth of Horus. The Metternich stela is dated about 370 B.C. According to the legend of the *Wanderings of Isis*, her experiences, as in the case of most other legends of Osiris, Isis, Horus, and Set, took place in the Delta. Set imprisoned, or detained, Isis, but she escaped with Horus, her son. She was accompanied by seven scorpions as her protectors. Very early in her wanderings, her scorpions attacked a woman and stung her child to death. Isis restored the child to life. Then Horus was stung to death, but

[18] Cf. JEA, 21 (1935), 29.

[19] H. Kees, *Kultlegende und Urgeschichte* (*Nachrichten v. d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*), 1930, 362.

[20] Budge Legends, 96-105 ; the whole hymn may be as early as the Middle Kingdom, cf. ÄZ 73 (1937) 75, and OLZ 42 (1939) 160.

[21] Budge Fetish, 457-9.

[22] Ibid., 480-6.

[23] Ibid., 487-90.

[24] Ibid., 491-503.

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was brought to life again by Thot, and Isis relates how and where Horus was born, how he was stung, how she appealed to Rēᶜ, and finally how Thot revived him.

As we have already suggested above, the earliest Egyptians, no doubt, had their ideas of creation. These ideas varied with place and time. In more cultured centres, with the passage of time, ideas about the way in which things came into being were systematized and built into logical theories and dogmas. It is certain that this happened at Heliopolis, the centre of sun-worship and of a well-organized priestly caste, and at a very early date. Already in the Pyramid Texts there are allusions to aspects and elements of such a theory of creation. Let us, then, outline the theory of creation as it was taught in Heliopolis. But, first, let us note our sources. Fortunately, archaeology has recovered for us a complete Egyptian creation myth, in two separate versions. It is contained in a text, called " The Book of Knowing how Rēᶜ came into being and of Overcoming Apophis ", which is a part of a papyrus in the British Museum, numbered 10188 (Cols. XXVI 21—XXVII 6 and Cols. XXVIII 20-XXIX 6), called the Rhind Papyrus, after the man who acquired it in Egypt, and also called the Nesi Amsu Papyrus, the name of the ancient priest mentioned in one of the colophons. The papyrus is dated in the " first day of the fourth month of the twelfth year of Pharaoh Alexander, the son of Alexander ", that would be in 311 B.C. The story of creation, the third work in the papyrus, is supposed to be told by the god Neb-er-ḏer, the All-lord (" lord to the utmost limit "), who took upon himself the form of Khepri (the creator god), who in turn was one of the three forms of the sun-god, Rēᶜ of Heliopolis. Now, the people of Heliopolis knew Neb-er-ḏer also as Atum, the original form of the god Rēᶜ. Therefore, the legends of Heliopolis speak of Neb-er-ḏer, Atum, and Rēᶜ, as one and the same divine being, and of Khepri as one of the three forms of Rēᶜ. Although this legend in its present form is Ptolemaic in date of writing, it contains original Heliopolitan ideas. This fact is clear from many allusions to the legend in the Pyramid Texts as well as in other early religious literature. The following outline, then, will be based primarily on both forms of the Nesi Amsu myth, and secondarily on the fragment of a creation myth at the end of the *Legend of the Destruction of Mankind*, described above (page 30 f.), as well as on the allusions to details in the myth culled from other ancient Egyptian religious literature. It should be noted at this point that there are traces

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in our extant creation material of two strands in the tradition, a popular and a more philosophical one, the latter presenting the creation of the universe in a more spiritual form. Thus, creation was effected when the divine mouth uttered the names of all that exists, and worked through *mȝᶜ.t*, "truth", "right", "order". The former represented creation more as a physical act. Gods, men, and things were corporeal developments.

In the beginning there existed nothing but a great chaotic, watery mass, called Nun. In the Nun there came into existence (by uttering his own name, according to one theory) a being, still undefined, but who carried in himself the possibility of all future existence. This was Neb-er-ḏer, the All-lord, known in Heliopolis, ordinarily, as Atum. *Neb-er-ḏer*, that is, Atum, or Khepri, by an effort of the will, or by the power of his word, raised himself out of Nun, but found nothing on which he could stand. However, by the power of *mȝᶜ.t* he called a foundation out of Nun, perhaps a hill in the shape of a pyramid, the *ben-* or *benben*-stone (PT 1652), the symbol of the sun, and there he stood. Standing there he became the sun-god, Atum, who took the name of Rēᶜ, a being greater than Nun himself. (According to variants, the sun-god first appeared sitting in the bud of a lotus (cf. Fig. 25), which grew out of the abyss (Nun); or he found himself sitting on the back of a cow (heaven), which was swimming in the abyss; or he burst forth from the egg of a water-fowl, the great cackler (Geb, the earth). There, also, he found himself in empty space, alone. Then by fertilizing himself, in union with his own shadow, or by masturbation in receiving his seed in his own mouth (PT 1248; cf. 1652, 1818), he produced Shu and Tefnut. Now, Shu was the atmosphere and Tefnut was moisture. Then Shu and Tefnut were united, and their offspring were Geb, the earth, and Nut, the sky. These were four deities. Thus, heaven and earth came into being. The embraces of Geb and Nut resulted in the birth of five deities, Osiris, Horus, Set, Isis, and Nephthys, whose offspring (i.e. other deities) were many. Now, Shu intercepted between Nut and Geb and lifted the heavens on high. According to some later elements of the myth the sky was supported by four pillars, which were really deities, Horus for the south, Set for the north, Thot in the west, and Sopdu in the east. These names vary to some extent in different strands of the legend. They also represent the four quarters of the world. According to the creation story at the end of the legend of the destruction of mankind, Atum now

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was becoming tired, so Nut, as a cow, took him on high. However, Nut became alarmed because of the great height. To reassure her, Atum caused Shu to stand and support the sky. Nut had a numerous family, which appeared as stars. Atum, now safely in heaven, entrusted the government of heaven to Nut, and that of the earth to Geb, assisted by a council of gods called the ennead. Of the five children of Geb and Nut, Osiris and Isis married and had Horus as a son ; and Set married Nephthys, whose son, according to other legendary fragments, was Anubis. The main creation legend speaks of the sun as the eye of Khepri or Neb-er-ḏer, and refers to some calamity which befell it and extinguished its light, so Neb-er-ḏer or Khepri made a second eye, the moon. Then, according to our legend, men and women sprang not from the earth, but directly from this body of Khepri, but according to other strands of the story, mankind came from the weeping eye, or tears, of Atum, an etymological touch, deriving *rmṯ*, " mankind ", from *rmj*, " to weep " (*rmj.t*, " tears "). Other fragments of creation legends, non-Heliopolitan, speak of saliva, and blood as the origin of mankind. Finally, Neb-er-ḏer said he created creeping things of all kinds, and another strand of the legend ascribes all creeping things as well as herbs, plants, and trees to the heat and moisture of Shu and Tefnut. Mankind for a long time was governed by divine kings, the first was Rē^{c} and the last Horus.

Such were the ideas about creation which seem to have had their origin in Heliopolis. By those who looked to Memphis for the source and inspiration of their religious ideas, it was thought that Ptah shaped an egg on his potter's wheel from which the world (including the sun-god) was hatched. Those more philosophically minded of Memphis represented all gods and living creatures as proceeding directly from the mind and thought of Ptah.[25] Ptah thought and uttered his word and things came into being.[26] Like Atum, he also created things by the power of *mȝ^{c}.t*. Indeed, according to Memphite theology Atum named Ptah creator of the world. As Ptah-ṯenen, he was Atum himself.[27] According to one ancient Egyptian cosmology, it was in Hermopolis that the sun-god appeared in a lotus-flower. It was there that the primaeval " hill-of-the-earth " was located,[28] and Thot of Hermopolis uttered

[25] ÄZ, 39 (1901), 39 ff.
[26] Sethe Dram Texte, I, 53-61.
[27] Hierat. Pap Berlin 3048, col. IV 3-VII 1.
[28] OLZ, 26 (1923), 147-50.

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a word and the world came into being. In Elephantiné Khnum was believed to be the creator of gods and men,[29] and in the account of the divine birth of Hatshepsut, it is said that Amūn instructed Khnum to build the body and *ka* of the future queen, while Ḥeḳet wife of Khnum gave the queen life (*ʿnḫ*).[30] In short, there were many creator-gods. The god of every self-respecting city became, for his worshippers, the author and creator of the world, either in his own right, or by identifying himself with the great Atum of Heliopolis.[31]

According to Egyptian thought, gods and men were very much alike in constitution and nature, except that gods were much greater, in every respect, than men. In studying the idea of man in ancient Egypt, we must keep in mind that the Egyptians did not differentiate between the material and immaterial as clearly as we do. Hence as we shall see, they used many words in reference to the nature of man which have sometimes a material and at other times an immaterial connotation. Generally speaking, the most tangible aspects of man, as of gods, which can be traced in Egyptian sources are the *ḥet* (*ḥ.t*) or *ḏet* (*ḏ.t*), the *ka* (*kꜣ*), and the *ba* (*bꜣ*).

And yet each one of these ancient terms is difficult to render by a modern equivalent, a task made still more difficult by the fact that Egyptians themselves were never very clear about either its nature or its being and activities. One thing seems clear, namely, that ideas about each one of them changed somewhat with the centuries. Like Quasimodo of Notre Dame whose ideas were twisted like his body, so the ancient Egyptian's ideas followed the mould of his ever-changing and growing habits of thought and expression. Thus, modern Egyptologists are still searching for an equivalent of the *ka*(*kꜣ*). Brugsch has rendered it by " character ", Maspero by " double ",[32] Petrie by " ancestral spirit ", Erman and von Bissing by " life-principle ", Steindorff by " genius ", Breasted by " protective spirit ", Gardiner by " essence ", " personality ", " soul ", " individuality ", " temperament ", and Moret has

[29] Badawi, *Der Gott Chnum*, Glückstadt, 1937, 56 ff.

[30] Naville Deir el-Bahari, pt. II 12 ff., pls. xlvi ff.

[31] Cf. Maspero Etudes, II, 284.

[32] Thus, the *ka* of Amenophis III is a real likeness or double of the king (cf. Erman Religion, fig. 83). Indeed, in this sense, grave-statues may have been meant to represent the *ka's* of the deceased. Certainly, in late Egyptian grammar *ka* with a suffix could be substituted for the personal pronoun. What Coe has written (202 ff., *The Psychology of Religion*, Chicago, 1916) about a " double " or secondary self well illustrates this idea of the *ka* as a " double ".

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compared it with the anthropological term *mana* and thinks that Egyptians thought that there was an " essential " or fundamental *ka*, besides individual *ka's*, or out of which individual *ka's* arose. There is, no doubt, an element of exactness in each of these renderings. But I think we can come nearer still to what the ancient Egyptian of all times understood by the term *ka*.

The term *ka* occurs in the earliest Egyptian inscriptions (e.g. Petrie RT, I, pls. XV 16 and XXV 53-6), and its root expresses generative force. With the phallus as a determinative it means " bull ", and *ka.t* designates the female sexual organ ; with the sign of a speaking man it means intellectual power, and in the plural it designates food which sustains life. Indeed, the sign transliterated *ka* was, it seems, an ancient ensign which became a god. Out of the philological use and content of the word *ka* proceed the ideas of creative force, personality, and divinity, and so Jacobsohn in his dissertation, *Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der alten Aegypter*, Glückstadt, 1939, 49 ff., has defined *ka* as " the divine creative power ". Perhaps a still clearer and more exact definition would be " divinity personified and objectified ". Thus, a *ka* is a divinity,[33] personified both as a god, as well as anthropomorphically, and objectively represented, as a rule, in human form. Hence a god is a *ka* and also much more besides, for he was anthropomorphically considered ; in like manner a king is a *ka*,[34] but also possesses a body, and was divine ; and in later times when any man might become a god, he also had a *ka* as well as a body, and was divine. The possession of a *ka* is that which makes a man divine, and in the case of human beings, at least, the *ka* was early thought to have had a pre-existence separate from its owner. According to a New Kingdom text, it was thought that when the king died he united himself with his creator (Pap Berl, Bd. V Taf. I, 8), that is, with a god ; and since in dying he went to his *ka* (BAR, I, 187, 253 ; cf. PT 826, 1431, etc.), that would seem to mean that the god was considered identical with the *ka* of the king.[35] Furthermore, it was also thought that the deceased pharaoh became not only the *ka* of Horus (PT 587), but also the *ka* of all the gods (PT 1609), just as both Geb (PT 1623) and Osiris (PT 1831, 1609) were thought to be the *ka* of all the gods, that is, to be master of all

[33] Cf. ÄZ 48 (1911), 152-9.

[34] Cf. Junker Gîza, I, 223.

[35] It is interesting to note here that the ancient theologians of Memphis believed that Ptah created the *ka's* (cf. Budge Fetish, 328).

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the gods and of their *ka's* (PT 1628). To gain the mastery over a god or to cause his death was to remove his *ka* from him or to cause the death of his *ka*, although, inconsistently, the *ka* was thought to be immortal (PT 789).

The *ka* was considered a beneficent and protective being especially in reference to the hereafter (PT 63), who gives to men life, good fortune, health, and joy (LD, III 35b, etc.). Gods and kings could each have *ka's* (PT 17-18 ; 396), as many as fourteen, the number of *ka's* designating the rank and power of their possessor.[36] These *ka's* embody magical power, strength, glory, wealth, greenness (health), nourishment, nobility, funerary equipment, intelligence, stability, sight, hearing, knowledge, and taste.[37] And inanimate objects, personified, such as a temple, could have a *ka* (e.g. The Temple of Gurnah, JNES, I (1942), 131). Apparently in the case of a king, the *ka* remained the same size as when the possessor was young (e.g. Seti I and his *ka*, Moret Nile, fig. 47).

The idea of the *ka* was at first apparently associated only with kings, and even then only with the deceased king in heaven (PT 338). The deceased pharaoh sleeps and wakes near his *ka* (PT 894).[38] And yet in the same early period (as well as also later) it seems to have been believed that as the king was a god while on earth, he had the privilege of being with his *ka* from his birth (cf. pictures of Amenophis III and his *ka*, and Hatshepsut and her *ka*), whereas ordinary mortals joined their *ka* only at death (BAR, I, 187, 253). However, Middle and New Kingdom texts indicate that a *ka* was born with every one (e.g. Erman Mutt u Kind, 26-7), and, sometimes, at least, lived in the tomb of the deceased, near the body, and subsisted on the offerings of meal, bread, fruit, etc., or moved about at will. But ordinarily when a man died he was said to go to his *ka* in heaven. By the time of the Ptolemies one could pray, " may my *ka* be in heaven and on earth " (Budge Fetish, 349). It has been suggested that the *ka* which lived on earth was a double of the one

[36] Junker Mww, pp. 26-7, sees in the plural *ka's* a synonym for ancestors, who appeared also as *mww* (cf. below, p. 433, note 16b).

[37] A. Moret, *Mystères égyptiens*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1922, p. 209 ; see also below in chapter XIX.

[38] Compare the Babylonian phrase, " my god who walks by my side " (MJ, VIII, No. 1, p. 42). There is a common modern Egyptian ejaculation when one stumbles, " god's name on thee and thy sister ". Some modern Egyptians believe that a spirit-sister follows men and women through life. She accompanies one to the grave, but what happens to her after that is not known (AE 1923, Pt. III, 67-70).

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whose home was in heaven, but there is no evidence of it. In any case, when a man died he could become identified with Osiris, in which case his *ka* also became divine (which it was ordinarily thought to be anyway). In a figurative way, the *ka* appears to have been considered, however vaguely, as the creative bond between deity, king, and dynasty.[39]

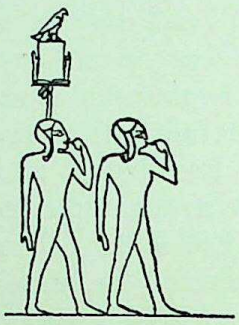

Fig. 6
AMENOPHIS III AND HIS *ka*

Intimately connected with the *ka* was a *ba*(*bꜣ*).[40] And for this word also it is difficult to find an exact modern equivalent. We are tempted to render it simply by our word "soul", which seems to suit many texts excellently, and yet it is quite clear that this translation does not always satisfy the context. So far as we are able to judge, it seems that the ancient Egyptians themselves were not always agreed about the nature of the *ba*—sometimes it was thought to be a kind of dream-soul, then a being which survived death, again a being which came into existence only after the death of the body to which it was related.[41] As soon as the deceased was joined with his *ka*, he automatically became a *ba*, and to him then came the breath of life, the "soul". Generally, however, it was believed that the *ba* was born with the body of a man and still lived on after the death of the body. In essence this idea was very primitive, for there is reason to believe that at a very early

[39] Jacobsohn, *Die Dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie d. alten Aegypter*, Glückstadt, 1939, 55.

[40] Theban BD, chapter 92 ; see below also in chapter XIX.

[41] Compare similar modern West African ideas of the soul, M. H. Kingsley, *West-African Studies*, London, 1899, 199 ff. However, when the Egyptians sought to describe more clearly the qualities of the soul (*ba*), they distinguished between the *'irw*, *ḫmꜣ* and *ššꜣw*, the first two referring to external appearance, the last referring to an internal spiritual character.

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period mankind became conscious of something similar to what we call a " soul ",[42] and magical means were sometimes taken to cause the *ba* to come forth from the body. The earlier texts seem to represent the *ba* as a resident of heaven (PT 762-3), and, there, may even become a star (PT 904, 723), but the Book of the Dead often represents it as dwelling with the *ka*, or the shade, in the tomb where it partook of material offerings, for it could assume material or immaterial form at will. Indeed, the *ba* could take the form of the individual or animal whence it came. Thus, the souls of Sebek were crocodiles. In representations, the *ba* appeared simply as the so-called *ba*-bird, or as a falcon with a human head. According to the Book of the Dead (chapters 77, 78, 85) the soul of the dead becomes a falcon.

Fig. 7
THE *ba* AS A HUMAN-HEADED FALCON

Just as Horus was called a *ba* (PT 580), so was the deceased pharaoh (PT 457), living among the gods (PT 1943, cf. 723). And just as a god may have more than one *ba*, so could a man.[43] While the plural term *bau* has the abstract meaning of " renown " (e.g. PT 477), it was also used in a historical sense, for example, in reference to the early rulers of Buto, Hierakonpolis, etc. These so-called " souls " appear originally to have been none other than the souls of the dead kings of these small kingdoms. Furthermore, they enjoyed in these cities a kind of divine worship, in Buto as a falcon and in Hierakonpolis as a jackal. In Buto they were the successors of Horus and in Hierakonpolis of those of Wepwawet (Sethe Urgeschichte, 127).[44]

The *ḥet* was considered corruptible, belonging to this earth (PT 474). It was contrasted with the *ḏet* of the gods (PT 148-9), which was imperishable (PT 530, 193), yet capable of appearing as

[42] See chapter XVIII, on the Idea of God.

[43] Cf. AE, 1915, Pt. III, 103-6.

[44] According to Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Aegypten*, Leipzig, 1941, the " souls " of these cities refer to their deities and not to their deceased kings deified.

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a human body, although sometimes furnished with wings (PT 1484). It was the *aḫu* (*3ḫw*), or spiritualized, transfigured body (*ḥet*) which went to heaven (PT 474, cf. 318), a word which is often translated "soul" or "spirit", but without justification.

A god comprises a *ka* ("divinity"), a *ba* ("soul"), and a *ḏet* ("imperishable body"). Just so did the deceased pharaoh comprise a *ka*, a *ba*, and an *aḫu* (or spiritualized *ḥet*). The terms *aḫu* and *ḏet* seem to have been interchangeable, especially as the deceased pharaoh was a god, just as in later times it was believed that any deceased individual could become a god. Furthermore, the term *aḫu* (or spiritualized *ḥet*) could also be applied to a god, for the *ḥet* spiritualized and transfigured, as *aḫu*, was an appropriate body for a god. Hence, when the deceased pharaoh's *aḫu* was united with his *ka*, and presumably in possession of his *ba* (PT 2010) he became a complete god (cf. PT 370-5, 2201, 1943).

The many other words used by the ancient Egyptians in reference to aspects or attributes of mankind should not be considered in any sense as having been taken by them as separate entities. There was always a tendency among ancient Egyptians, as with ourselves, only much more so, to objectify abstract ideas. Indeed, their picture script very often obliged them to do so. But there is no ground for believing that the Egyptian conception of an individual was as complicated as these words might seem to indicate. Thus, besides the *ḥet*, *aḫu*, *ka* and *ba*, already enumerated, there were the *ʾib*, corresponding almost exactly to our idea of "heart", except that, as among most ancient peoples, the "heart" was the seat also of the mind, intellect, understanding, there being no knowledge of the brain and its function (the *ʾib* was associated as well with the *ka* (BD 30 B) as with the *ḥet*); the *śaḫu*, which is merely another name for the dead, or the blessed dead (or spiritualized, transfigured body), who entered heaven and lived with Osiris (BD (Budge), chapter I B); the *rn*, just like our "name", which could live upon earth forever after the death of the individual (PT 764); the *śeḫem* (*śḫm*), like our "strength" or "force", spiritual as well as physical; the *ānḫ* (*ʿnḫ*), "life", and the *sa ānḫ* (*s3 ʿnḫ*), "life-essence"; the *ḫaibet* (*ḫ3ib.t*), "shadow" (PT 413), closely related to the *ba*, and usually represented as a black double of the individual, etc.

As the main part of our knowledge of the ancient Egyptians is derived from a study of tombs and mortuary temples, we are apt, even unconsciously, to visualize them as a very serious and

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gloomy people. But even from their burial places there is much to prove them to have been a happy and light-hearted people. Their folk-tales, their music, their comic pictures and caricatures, their dancing and singing, their games, play, and buffoonery, their love and use of flowers, their bright colours and gaudy garments, and even the names they gave their children, " Eyes-of-love ", " Cool-breezes ", " Beautiful morning ", all go to indicate their buoyant, happy, and gay disposition. Long before the rise of the dynastic period there had developed in Egypt a diversity of economies, an imposing body of scientific knowledge had been accumulated, and settlements had been made in all parts of the country. By the time of Menes a well-developed state had come into existence, with its diverse classes and professions, and religious ideas had taken deep root in villages, towns, and cities, and already there were signs that two great general conceptions of religious belief, connected with the names of Osiris and Rē^{c}, had begun to develop, mingle and compete.

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CHAPTER III

SET, THE INDIGENOUS GOD

THE first god whose worship was fairly general among the indigenous people of ancient Egypt was Set. Legend and modern archaeological research connect Set, in prehistoric and dynastic times with Upper Egypt, Libya, the eastern Delta, and generally with all desert regions. There is reason to believe

Fig. 8
SET

also that Set was the god most commonly worshipped by the people of the so-called First Civilization, and even after the rise and development of the Second Civilization, he remained the great god of Upper Egypt. He was " Lord of Upper Egypt " (*nb tȝ šmᶜ*), as he was later called in the Pyramid Texts (204).

The earliest form of the name of Set, common since the time of the Pyramid Texts was *śtš*[1] and *śtḫ*. Since the Eighteenth

[1] It used to be thought that the third sign in this word was not to be rendered *š*, but was a determinative for " stone ", " rock ", in reference to a stony or desert land, making Set a desert god. But this is unlikely, for the sign *š* in Set's name is found interchangeable with *ḫ* and *ḥ*, neither of which could possibly be taken for a determinative for " stone " or " rock ".

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Dynasty it was likewise written *śwti*, and since the Nineteenth Dynasty it was also written *śwṯḫ* and *śṯḫ*, especially as the Hyksos god and the god of foreign lands. In cuneiform his name was reproduced as *šutaḫ*, in Coptic ϣⲏⲧ, and in Greek as *Σήθ*. The *š* in the early form *śtš* may be due to an early inability to reproduce the sound *ḫ*. In time the *ḫ* weakened to *h* and we have the origin of the Greek form. In Greek times the synonym Typhon was used for Set, and after the time of the Hyksos the Semitic name Baal was in use, a name which occurs in the famous Myth of Horus of Edfu.

The god Set is supposed to have been born on the third of the five intercalary days.[2] His birthplace was said to have been *Śu* (*św*) in the Faiyûm.[3] He was the son of Geb and Nut, his wife being Nephthys. Neit was also said to have been his wife, and Thueris his concubine. It would seem that his home was in *Š3s-ḥtp* the capital of the XIth Upper Egyptian nome, Hypselis,[4] the ensign of which was the animal of Set with a knife in his head. The chief seat of his worship, however, was Ombos (near Naqâda-Ballâs), the ancient Nubt (*nb.t*),[5] opposite Koptos, in the Vth nome. From Nubt,[6] he gained the title *nub.ti*, "he of Nubt". This was his special title as "Lord of Upper Egypt".[7] At Ombos Set was worshipped in the form of a crocodile, and here there was afterwards a famous temple dedicated to him. Besides Śu, Hypselis, and Ombos, Set was worshipped in Upper Egypt also at Oxyrrhynchus, in the XIXth nome, in the form of a sharp-nosed fish.[8] That Set from the earliest times was the special god of Upper Egypt in general is made very clear in legends and inscriptions. It is also clear that Set was always associated with the desert, the borders of Egypt, and with foreign lands. The nearest foreign land was Libya, and with it Set was always closely associated. The early

[2] Plutarch IO, 12 ; cf. PT 1961.

[3] Erman Memph Theol, Ce ; Br. Mus. Stela, No. 79 ; Gauthier-Jéquier, *Fouilles de Licht*, Le Caire, 1902, figs. 33-37.

[4] PT 734, 1269. Perhaps to be transliterated *Ḥn.t* ; cf. also PT 1904.

[5] Sethe Urgeschichte, 86.

[6] PT 370b, 1145b, 1667a.

[7] PT 204.

[8] Cf. Kees HS, II 40 ff. The city Nekheb (el-Kâb), the seat of the vulture-goddess, Nekhbet, may have belonged originally to Set, for what appears to be the Set-title of a king is inscribed on the rock at el-Kâb, as though that were the title by which he was known in that district. Moreover, Herodotus says that offerings of pig's flesh were made to the goddess Selene, that is, Nekhbet. Cf. Weigall, *A History of the Pharaohs*, I, London, 1925, 104.

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Libyans inhabited not only North Africa west of the Delta, but also north to south along the western border of Egypt from the Mediterranean to Nubia, especially at the oases.[9] Indeed, in prehistoric times Libyans may have formed a large element in the population of the whole Nile valley.[10] Now, the Libyans were a branch of the "African" or "Hamitic" division of the Mediterranean race, and consequently were closely related to the Egyptians. Originally they were much purer racially than at later times, and at all periods in their long history they were very influential in Egyptian affairs. There is reason to believe that the earliest kingdoms of the West Delta were strongly Libyan. In a temple at Sais there was an emblem of the goddess Neit. This emblem has been found tattooed by the Libyans upon their arms. Indeed, the Kingdom of Sais as well as the Iment Kingdom, in the West Delta, were probably in large part Libyan in character. The oil used for anointing gods and kings mentioned as early as the Thinite monuments was called *ḥ3t.t*, perhaps in memory of the Libyan chiefs, the Ḥatiu.[11] Even Horus of the early West Delta was called the "Libyan with uplifted arm".[12] As indigenous god of prehistoric Egypt Set, largely a desert god, which characteristic he retained throughout history, as god of the desert peoples, East, South, and West, was very Libyan in character. As early as the time of the Thinite kings he was called "Lord of Libya", and was worshipped southward of the el-Kharge oasis.[13] The Libyan god Ash (*3š*) was sometimes represented as a man with the head of the animal of Set, indeed the animal of Set is written as *3š* or *š3*.[14] The great centre of Set worship, Ombos, was appropriately situated at the head of an important caravan route to the oases. And the emblem of the goddess Neit, who was Libyan in origin, has been found painted on prehistoric pottery at Nubt.[15]

Formerly it used to be thought that Set was originally a Lower Egyptian god. This is still true for the earliest prehistoric times when the power and influence of Set, as the greatest of all indigenous

9 See A. Scharff, "Vorgeschichtliches zur Libyerfrage", ÄZ, 61 (1926), 16 ff.

10 Cf. P. E. Newberry, AAA, I (1908), 19. There is a legend to the effect that the Theban Amūn was of Libyan origin (Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, London, 1914, 189-90).

11 Borch Sahurēᶜ, II (text), 73.

12 Cf. Mercer Horus, 215.

13 Setḥ in Borch Sahurēᶜ, II, 74.

14 Op. cit., II, 74 f.

15 Petrie Naqada, LXVI, 10, etc.; cf. Petrie Making, pl. XXVII, 118, 28.

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deities, extended perhaps over the whole of Egypt, North as well as South. It was most likely the memory of this situation which accounts for the many references in legends and inscriptions to Set as god of Lower Egypt. But recent excavations and interpretation have definitely located the early regions of Set in Upper Egypt and in the desert regions east and west of the great river valley. In the eastern Delta, in later times, when Set came to be identified more or less with the interests, not only of desert peoples in general, but especially with those of foreigners, for example, the Hyksos, Avaris became a great centre of his worship. Indeed, Manetho calls Avaris the city of Typhon. Now, Avaris is Tanis, the Egyptian *pr-Rēᶜ-mśśw*, " the house of Rameses ". There Set may have established himself temporarily when he overcame Osiris, in prehistoric times, or maybe when Menes conquered the North, but, at any rate, according to Pap Sallier I, one of the Hyksos kings made Set his god, and in the time of Rameses II, he was the principal god at Tanis (Avaris). When the people of Horus conquered those of Set in the Delta, according to legend, Set was driven South. This was still in prehistoric times. But the north-eastern Delta never forgot Set, hence his rise to influence and power during the period of the Hyksos,[16] under his name, Sutekh. In the neighbourhood of Tanis was the ancient place of the worship of Set, in his temple in *Ṯr.t.*

As we have already seen, legends and texts are not consistent in assigning Upper Egypt to Set and Lower Egypt to Horus. But on the whole Set's great title was " Lord of Upper Egypt ", and so far as we know he was the first to bear that epithet. His invariable title was " Nubti ", " the Ombite ", that is, god of Ombos. Ombos was the capital of his Upper Egyptian kingdom, that is, the headquarters of the kings who ruled in his name. As early as the Second Dynasty he held the title " Lord of Libya ".[17] One of his chief characteristics was that of patron of the " red land ",[18] that is of the desert, and of strangers. But he was above all an evil god. This attribute attached itself to him only after his war with Osiris. It is clear from passages in the Pyramid Texts that Set was not always regarded in the earliest times merely as an evil being. However, in time he became the counterpart of Horus—Horus, god of the bright sky ; Set, god of storm. It was not conflict with Rēᶜ, not

[16] Cf. Montet Tanis, *passim.*
[17] Kees HS, II, 46.
[18] Pap Sallier, IV 9, 4-6.

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the storm obscuring the sun, nor yet a struggle between light and darkness, in the sense of day and night, which Set signified. It was a struggle between a sky-god, Horus, and a storm-god, Set. Set was the weather-god, and signified, primarily, tempest, storm, cloudiness, thunder, earthquake, and, secondarily, sin, wickedness, and evil. He murdered Osiris ; he wounded the moon, that is, the weak eye of Horus. He was a violent god, and was said to have come into the world by bursting through the side of his mother.[19] He was red, had red eyes, a colour which the Egyptians hated, and to them " red things " were evil things. Finally, he was a war-god,[20] and a god of strength who taught the king the use of the bow and arrow.

A great deal has been written on the subject of the cult-animal of Set, and there is still much uncertainty as to its identification.[21]

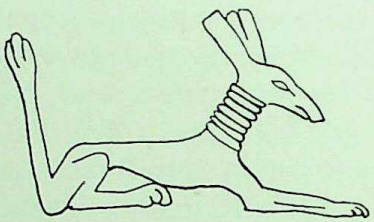

Fig. 9
CULT ANIMAL OF SET

Indeed, the Egyptians themselves at a very early date seem to have forgotten what the animal was. A comb from Naqâda (Nubt) decorated with a four-footed beast having what seems to be the characteristics of the animal of Set is the oldest representation at present extant. Scharff[22] thinks it is the cult-animal of Set, but an animal now extinct ; while Sethe[23] takes it to be a dog. The Set-animal of the First Dynasty (Berlin 15484)[24] may have been

[19] Plutarch IO, 12.

[20] H. Grapow, *Die Bildlichen Ausdrücke des Aegyptischen*, Leipzig, 1924, 186.

[21] Some interesting discussions are : P. E. Newberry, " The Cult-animal of Seth ", Klio, 12 (1912), 397-401 ; L. Borchardt, ÄZ, 46 (1910), 90-1 ; G. Roeder, ÄZ, 50 (1912), 84-6. The most recent attempt at identification would make the animal of Set to have been the orycteropus, which is found not only in South Africa, but also in Nubia and adjacent regions (Chronique, No. 41 (1946), 91-2).

[22] Scharff Altertümer, p. 23, no. 5.

[23] Sethe Urgeschichte, p. 73.

[24] Erman Religion, p. 38, fig. 26a.

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meant to be an ass or a dog ; but another of the same period,[25] on a standard, seems almost certainly to have been meant to represent the cult-animal of Set. The animal was called *šꜣ*, and the early seat of its worship was the town *šꜣs-ḥtp*.[26] The name is found as early as the Second Dynasty on the seal impressions of Peribsen and Khasekhemui.[27]

The animal usually associated with Set seems to have been the pig. Indeed, the word for " pig " in Egyptian is *šꜣ*, and Newberry at first identified the Set-animal with a wart hog. He has, however, changed his mind and considers it a wild pig,[28] and in the Book of the Dead (chapter 112) it is said that Set transforms himself into a black pig. Plutarch states that the Egyptians sacrificed a pig to Set once a year. It is also said that a pig was sacrificed to Osiris on the very day on which, according to tradition, Osiris himself was killed. The Egyptians hated pigs, yet once a year they sacrificed pigs to the moon and to Osiris, and not only sacrificed them, but also ate of their flesh. On any other day of the year they would neither sacrifice them nor touch their flesh. The pig was considered both impure and sacred. Later legend has it that Typhon (Set) in the shape of a black pig tore out the eye of Horus and swallowed it, but was forced by Rēᶜ to restore it. Thus, it is certain that the pig, especially the black variety, was closely associated with Set, and since the word for " pig " is the same as the word for the cult-animal of Set, namely, *šꜣ*, it seems most likely that the Set-animal was a black pig.

On the other hand, the pictures of the animal of Set, as preserved to us, give him a greyhound-like appearance, with erect and feathered arrow-tail, and erect ears.[29] However, Newberry has quoted observers as saying that when the domesticated pig runs wild it reverts to a thin, long-legged greyhound-like creature, and one variety in Ireland is actually known as the " Irish greyhound pig ". The erect tail is quite a characteristic feature of many species of pig when they are at all angered. The wild boar of

[25] Quibell Hierak I, XXVI c ; cf. ibid., II, p. 41.

[26] Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. XIII.

[27] Petrie Royal Tombs, II, pl. XXII, 178 ; XXIII, 199. The Libyan god Ash of the Fifth Dynasty was also represented, having the head of the Set-animal (ÄZ, 61 (1926), 23 ff.). This is another indication of the relationship between Set and Libya.

[28] *Ancient Egypt*, 1922, No. 2, p. 44.

[29] Cf. V. Loret, " Le Dieu Seth et le roi Séthôsis ", PSBA, 28 (1906), 123-32 ; Sethe Urgeschichte, 87.

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India is said to have bristles at the end of its tail arranged like the plumes of an arrow.[30]

The cult-animal of Set has been called a wild-ox,[31] an okapi,[32] an ass,[33] a crocodile,[34] an oryx or antelope, a fish, a snake, a hippopotamus, a turtle,[35] and it has been suggested that the animal was quite mythological. From the Persian period there comes a falcon-formed picture of Set as warrior against the serpent enemy,[36] the climax in Egyptian inconsistency and confusion. Even the *ḏd* of Busiris sometimes represented Set.[37] Set was also worshipped under the form of an iron meteorite,[38] and the Great Bear, one of the chief constellations, was sacred to him.[39] The nearest solution of the problem of the Set-animal, however, is that it was a pig. This would be in agreement with a large part of the evidence at present available.

The form which the god Set assumed was usually that of a man with the head of his cult-animal.[40] Quite often he was represented wholly in the form of his cult-animal.[41] Set was said to have made his body like a red hippopotamus.[42] He also could take upon himself the form of a hissing serpent.[43] In one unusual case Set was represented as a man-headed serpent.[44]

[30] Newberry, *op. cit.*

[31] Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 73, *šm3* ; cf. Urkunden (Sethe), IV, 616.

[32] W. Max Muller, *Egyptian Mythology*, Boston, 1918, p. 103, n. 35 ; but the ears of the okapi are not at all like those of the Set-animal (cf. Wiedemann, OLZ, 1902, 220-3).

[33] Certainly the picture reproduced by Erman Religion (Berlin 15484), p .38, fig. 26a, has the general posture of an ass. Daressy in Annales, XX (1920), 165-6, writes about the Set-animal with the head of an ass ; and in general, in Egyptian literature, there is an association between the god Set and the ass. In a late malediction the name *'Iw* is used in such a way as nearly certainly to refer to Set. Now, *'Iw* is perhaps an attempt to reproduce the Coptic ⲉⲓⲱ, "ass", the equivalent of the ancient Egyptian *ʿ3* (cf. OZ, I, §744).

[34] Kees HS, II, 43 ; cf. Petrie Royal Tombs, II, pl. VII, 5, 6.

[35] See Kees, " Seth " (Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie, II Reihe, IV Halbd., Stuttgart, 1923) ; cf. also Sethe Urgeschichte, 87 ; Hopfner Tierkult, 25.

[36] BMMA, Feb. 1928 (Pt. II), fig. 15 ; cf. H. Kees, *Kultlegende und Urgeschichte*, Göttingen, 1930, 356.

[37] Sethe Dram Texte, II, 153-160.

[38] ÄZ, 71 (1935), 44.

[39] G. A. Wainwright, *The Sky-religion in Egypt*, Cambridge, 1938, 13 ; cf. Budge Gods, II, 249.

[40] Daressy Divinités, nos. 38591-2.

[41] Erman Religion, 38, fig. 26.

[42] Mythe d'Horus, pl. 22, 31-2.

[43] Mythe d'Horus, pl. 16, 3.

[44] Lanzone Diz, pl. 378, 1.

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Very few gods were ever identified with Set. However, in the time of the New Kingdom, at Avaris, Set and Baal[45] were both represented by the same cult-animal, and another Semitic war-god, Reshep,[46] was also probably identified with him. But about the identification of Set and Sutekh there seems to be no doubt.[47] In the reign of Rameses III, Montu and Set are mentioned in a way to indicate their complete identity.[48] And late in the New Kingdom, the place of Set was taken by Apophis, the great serpent, personified and deified.

The god with whom Set was most closely associated was Horus. This association was so close that more than once the two gods were represented together as one man with a double head, that of a falcon and that of a Set-animal, or with a head composed of the falcon and Set-animal mixed.[49] At quite an early date, and thenceforth

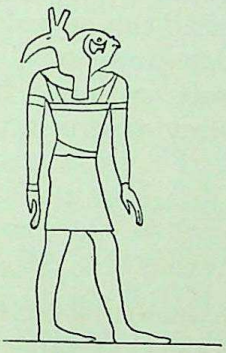

Fig. 10

SET WITH HEAD OF FALCON AND OF THE SET-ANIMAL

throughout Egyptian history they were called *nb.wi*, "the two lords".[50] They were particularly associated in ceremonial scenes, such as those connected with the Union of the Two Lands, and the anointing and the giving of life to the king.[51] A full account of the relationship between Horus and Set will be found in chapter V below.

In prehistoric times when the sphere of Set was becoming

[45] Budge Gods, II, 281 ; cf. Kees HS, II, 20, n. 5.
[46] Budge Gods, II, 282.
[47] Budge Gods, II, 283.
[48] Nelson Med Habu, II, pl. 80.
[49] Lanzone Diz, pl. 378, 2 (the famous picture) ; and id. 378, 4.
[50] See Kees HS, *passim*, for full details.
[51] See Mercer Horus, fig. 22 ; Lanzone Diz, pls. 374-6.

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more and more confined to Upper Egypt, worshippers of Osiris made their way into the eastern Delta. At that time there was no contact between the followers of the two gods. And later when relations between them began to be established, they were, no doubt, sufficiently friendly. It is perhaps these later conditions which are reflected in those passages in the Pyramid Texts where Set and Osiris are represented as being on friendly terms.[52] Then grew up the alliances between Horus, Osiris, and Isis, according to which Isis was represented as the wife of Osiris, and Horus their son. And still Set was friendly, for according to a very old tradition, he was the brother of Osiris, and uncle of Horus. Then enmity arose between Osiris and Set, and Set killed his brother, wishing to succeed to his dominion, Lower Egypt. But Horus was the heir of his father. Consequently, there arose strife and war between uncle and nephew. Memory of all these far-off prehistoric events is preserved in the Pyramid Texts—the death of Osiris at the hands of Set,[53] the revenge which Horus took on Set,[54] and the decision of the gods who sat in judgment upon Horus and Set.[55]

In the system of theology constructed by the priests of Heliopolis (see below, chapter XVI), Set was given an important place in the divine family of Atum (Rē^{c}), and thereafter was closely associated with the sun-god. Indeed, he was sometimes represented as son of Rē^{c},[56] as associating with Rē^{c} in his solar barque,[57] and in the *Contendings of Horus and Set* Rē^{c} always pleads in favour of Set as opposed to Horus. Thot, as a frequent deputy of Set, was closely associated with him. Thus, the Union of the Two Lands could be represented as accomplished symbolically by Horus and Thot, instead of by Horus and Set ;[58] and when Set became " lord of the desert " and naturally fell out of the ritual of coronation, his place was taken by Thot.[59] Indeed, Thot was said to have sprung out of the head of Set, who was made pregnant by Horus.[60] Also Geb sometimes deputized for Set instead of Thot.[61] And in the last

[52] E.g., PT 832, 865.
[53] E.g., PT 972, 1033, 1500.
[54] E.g., PT 649b.
[55] PT 957 ; cf. 1543-9.
[56] Bulletin, 28 (1928), 39.
[57] Bulletin, ibid., 33-9.
[58] Moret Nile, p. 124, fig. 33 ; cf. Kees HS, 82 and n. 2.
[59] Boylan Thoth, 46-7.
[60] Erman, *Beiträge*, Sitz. d. K. P. Ak. d. W., Berlin, 1916, p. 1143.
[61] Kees HS, II, 84.

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period of Egyptian religion, Set was often associated with the divine being Iao[62]—no doubt, a form of the name Yahweh.

Just as the kings of Lower Egypt, who succeeded Horus (the last divine king to reign on earth, according to Manetho), were called "Followers of Horus" (*šmśw Ḥr*), so those who succeeded Set in Upper Egypt were called "Followers" (*'imw-ḫt*)[63] of Set, or the "Companions (*smȝ.w*) of Set".[64]

One of the earliest extant symbols of a god known to Egyptian archaeology is a carved picture of what seems to be the animal of Set (above referred to) coming from Naqâda of the Aeneolithic period, representing the First Civilization.[65] And that is all appropriate, for there is good reason for believing that the great god of the earliest indigenous and civilized peoples of Egypt, North, South, East, and West, so far as we know, was Set. At that early period he most likely was recognized—supreme among many other deities—throughout Egypt.[66] No doubt, from the very beginning of the development of human society in ancient Egypt the infiltration of foreigners began. The Libyans were related neighbours, and legend makes the "Followers of Set" red-haired and Set himself "red". Both pure Libyan and Negro-Libyan type of head has been discovered at Hierakonpolis[67] representing southern Negro as well as western Libyan influence. And for the time of the First Civilization, Winkler[68] has demonstrated an infiltration from the eastern side of the Nile also. In spite, however, of a certain amount of early infiltration of foreigners, which would be natural, it seems pretty certain that the inhabitants of Egypt from the beginning down through the longest period of the First Civilization were indigenous or very largely so. Moreover, they seem to have been scattered all over Egypt, the descendants and representatives of the original people of Egypt. They may truly be called "Set-tribes", at any rate people, the bulk of whom recognized Set as *the* great god, and, no doubt, worshipped him as such.

Already sometime during the First Civilization, there probably

[62] Procopé-Walter, ARW, 30 (1933), Hft 1-2, 34-69.

[63] E.g., PT 575.

[64] Mythe d'Horus, *passim*.

[65] Scharff Die Altertümer, 23.

[66] See to the contrary, Petrie, "Geography of the Gods", AE, 1917, III.

[67] Quibell Hierak, I, pl. V.

[68] Winkler, *Völker und Völkerbewegungen im vorgeschichtlichen Oberaegypten im Lichte neuer Felsbilderfunde*, Stuttgart, 1937, *passim*.

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came into Egypt from the east, via the Wâdi Ḥammâmât, an Asiatic people, worshippers of a sky-god Horus,[69] who sojourned along the valley of the Nile, northwards, finally settling in the West Delta. These worshippers of Horus remained till long after they settled in the Delta on friendly terms with the worshippers of Set, in whose midst they were, at first, merely strangers. These newcomers, in their settled home in the Delta were no doubt, in time joined by other in-coming Asiatics, who came by way of the eastern Delta. These combined Asiatics were a more cultured people than the indigenous Egyptians. They were warriors and knew the use of copper weapons, and in time conquered and settled the whole of the Delta, or Lower Egypt. They, thus, automatically confined the worshippers of Set to Upper Egypt. It was now that the distinction between the two parts of Egypt began to be emphasized. Before that Egypt was considered to be more or less one, under one great leader, Set. Furthermore, the foreign population of Lower Egypt were the creators of a higher culture than that of the South, a culture of which there is much archaeological evidence and which we call the Second Civilization.[70] This gradually spread to Upper Egypt, and finally developed into the civilization of historic and dynastic Egypt.

Although Egypt was united for the third and last time under Menes, a Horus-king of Upper Egypt,[71] faithful followers of Set were still many in the South after that event, as well as before, when Set-kings, between the periods of union, reigned and ruled. During the first two dynasties, Set does not receive much attention as far as archaeological evidence is concerned. However, in the First Dynasty a certain queen bore the title, " She who beholds Horus and Set ",[72] evidence of an interest in welding together the two great elements in Egyptian society. As we have already recorded, the first occurrence of the symbol of Set, so far discovered, comes from the Aeneolithic period, during the First Civilization. The second occurrence is the Set-animal on the big mace-head of king " Scorpion ",[73] and the third is the same drawn on a piece of pottery of the First Dynasty.[74] Two of the kings of the Second

[69] See Mercer Horus, 30 ff.
[70] See Mercer Horus, 30 ff.
[71] See Mercer Horus, 94 f.
[72] Petrie RT, II, pl. XXVII, 129.
[73] Quibell Hierak, I, pl. XXVI c.
[74] Petrie RT, I, pl. XLIX, no. 377 ; another possible example is that of Petrie RT, I, pl. XVII, 29, but it is rather improbable.

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Dynasty were admirers, if not worshippers of Set. There does not seem to be sufficient evidence to speak of a Set rebellion in the Second Dynasty, as Newberry does,[75] but both Peribsen and Khasekhemui used Set as a title. The former used it always, with one most likely exception,[76] and the latter[77] used both Horus and Set. In the case of Peribsen, Set is represented for the first time in the form of a man with the head of his cult-animal, and wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt.[78]

From the time of the Pyramid builders on Set was pretty consistently called " Lord of the South " (PT 204), but he gradually declined in influence until he finally became anathema to the Egyptians, the cruel murderer of Osiris, the incarnation of all evil. However, during the Hyksos period he became all-powerful. The Hyksos kings, of Asiatic origin, made their capital at Avaris (Tanis). There Set was called by his ancient name Sutekh, was identified with Baal and Teshub,[79] and worshipped as Set of Ombos. Meanwhile, Horus was becoming more and more popular in Upper as well as in Lower Egypt, so that by the time of the New Kingdom he was universally associated with Egypt as a whole, Set having become the god of foreign lands and of foreigners. The period of Set's greatest popularity, then, was during the reign of the Hyksos pharaohs, who saw in Set a duplicate of their god Baal, erected to him temples at Avaris and at Bubastis, elevated the Set cult to a national religion, and called themselves the " beloved of Set ". During a part of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Set again came into prominence, for the son of Rameses I was called Seti I, and there was a Seti II, and Rameses II named his armies after Set as well as Amūn, Rēᶜ, and Ptah. This was, no doubt, due to Set's association with the warlike Hyksos pharaohs,[80] whom, as warriors, Rameses II had reason to admire. Set's connection with the Hyksos of northern Egypt may also have accounted for the fact that in the time of the Rameses Set was said to be lord of Lower Egypt, while Upper Egypt

[75] AE, 1922, 40 ff.

[76] Mercer Horus, 23 f.

[77] Petrie RT, II, pl. XXIII.

[78] Petrie RT, II, pl. XXII, 179. Some sealings on this plate may contain the title *nub.ti*, " the Ombite ", but this has been doubted. See Bayer Religion, no. 546, p. 910.

[79] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 153.

[80] As the Hyksos introduced the horse in Egypt, so later their god Set was associated with the horse, cf. Capart, " Le Cheval et le dieu Seth ", Mélanges Maspero, I, 227-31.

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was assigned to Horus.[81] However, in the Twenty-second Dynasty a strong reaction set in against Set, and by the Saite period, in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, he was likened to the great and wicked serpent Apophis. Thenceforth his name was abhorred.

Originally Set was on friendly terms with Osiris, Horus and Rē^{c}. This state of affairs is fully reflected in the Pyramid Texts, which like a good deal of Egyptian religious literature, represent the theological thought of the priests of Heliopolis of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties—of course, based on a fund of earlier legends and traditions. Nevertheless, the Pyramid Texts contain a system of theological speculation, unfortunately full of contradictions, additions, and adjustments, in which Set appears as the opponent of Osiris, on behalf of whom Horus fought. As Set was made to belong to the solar group, and as Horus was already a sky-god, so Horus was identified with the sun and Set with the moon. Then, Set, as the great opponent and also as the moon, gave rise to endless speculation. It was an easy step to think of Set as a weather-god and storm-god. The gathering of clouds, the storm-burst, the passing of day into night, the fearsome eclipse, all were connected with a hostile power, the moon, Set. Set was the adversary of light (PT 370), the angry, howling god (PT 298), the deadly wind (PT 261, 281), and thunder (PT 1150). Thus, after the cult of Osiris was established, and had made its way into the Pyramid Texts, Set his murderer, became synonymous with everything that was destructive and evil. He was even the earth-shadow which darkened the moon (itself),[82] the sea which swallowed up the water of the Nile, and the god of foreigners. Thence he became an evil principle and enemy of the gods.[83] Set was gradually degraded from one position to another and lower one—from murderer of his brother, opponent of Rē^{c}, combatant with Horus, storm-god, foreign-god, enemy-god, until the decline of the New Kingdom when he was regarded with detestation and his name erased from the monuments, and the end of Egyptian religion when he became Typhon, the serpent Apophis, the devil. This unenviable reputation which Set acquired through the long ages accounts, no doubt, for the fact that he played such a minor rôle in Egyptian public and private worship. He gradually fell out of any public ritual of which he one time formed a part, such as,

[81] Pap Sallier, IV 9, 7.
[82] Plutarch IO, 44, 9.
[83] Sethe Sonnenauge, 38.

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for example, the ritual of coronation. Minor revivals took place, such as when in the reign of Rameses II he was expected to control the weather,[84] but even this office was soon neglected for his rain became an inconvenience, and he himself became a nuisance to the people and an offence to Horus, the clear sky, and Osiris, the fertility of the Nile-waters, two forces which functioned to the benefit of all mankind. Consequently, the recognition of Set as an object of worship, except in rare cases of incantation, gradually died out, and prayers and litanies to him soon became unknown.[85]

[84] Wainwright, *op. cit.*, 14-15.
[85] Cf. ÄZ, 60 (1925), 29 ff.

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CHAPTER IV

HORUS, THE ROYAL GOD

FROM the very beginning Horus was a leader-god with his followers. Legends tell of his coming from the south-east of Upper Egypt—from the land of Punt ; and archaeology has found prehistoric traces of him on the way from the Red Sea to the Nile Valley via the Wâdi Ḥammâmât. When Set was already the indigenous god, great in all Egypt, the Valley and deserts as well, the worshippers of Horus, sometime during the First Civilization, arrived in the Nile Valley in the vicinity of Koptos, where the local god was Min. The followers of the two gods met and for some time, at least, made common cause. But Horus and his people were adventurers. They had come from afar. They were also warriors, and superior too, as they possessed and knew the use of copper. They lingered, but did not remain, in the neighbourhood of Koptos. They had dealings with the followers of the great god Set, whose capital was at Ombos. But soon they were on the march again, heading northwards, halting here and there, where they met kindred spirits, worshipping similar gods, until they found themselves in the western part of the Delta. There they took root. There were there already, or there had soon come there, from time to time, men of like race, speaking a similar language to that of the earlier followers of Horus. They also came from the east, Western Asia, knew the use of metal weapons, and were called Harpooners. They made common cause with Horus and his followers with whom, no doubt, most of them joined themselves. Still the indigenous population was large in comparison. But Horus and his followers, old and new, seemed naturally to have adopted and played the rôle of leaders and masters, until in time and gradually, Horus was recognized as god of the whole western country of the Delta. Formerly, there also Set had been recognized as supreme god, but even before the coming of Horus and his followers, local deities, like Min in Upper Egypt, had gained in power and importance. Such was, for example, Neit of Sais, half Egyptian, half Libyan. But even she and her people gradually were drawn into the orbit of Horus. After that, another wave of

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immigrants came west from the neighbouring lands of Western Asia. Their leader was Osiris, perhaps a human king, who was later deified. They made their home in the eastern part of the Delta. They were not warriors, but shepherds, men of peace, who wanted to settle and till the rich soil. They were popular with the indigenous peoples of those parts, who saw in Osiris a god of a man, a brother of their own god Set. The northern part of the Delta was particularly favourable to Osiris and his followers. The greatest leader there was a goddess, Isis of Sebennytos. Meanwhile, a new group of immigrants had penetrated the Delta, and finally settled at its apex, at Heliopolis. Their leader, a god, was Rē^{c}. They possibly, if not probably, came from the islands of the Mediterranean, and maybe partly from its north-eastern shores. They were a cultured and intellectual people, many of them perhaps traders and craftsmen. Now, Horus and his followers found much in common with Osiris and his people. Both groups came originally from the West Asiatic world. Besides, Osiris and his people were peaceful folk and soon drew the whole of the western Delta, under Horus, and of the northern Delta, under Isis, into a peaceful union. The worshippers of these deities readily saw in Isis the wife of Osiris and in Horus the son of Isis and Osiris, with the old god Set, as brother of Osiris. But Horus was a sky-god, a god of light, and so was Rē^{c} of Heliopolis, so that, while the followers of Rē^{c} recognized and respected the old indigenous god Set, they were ready to make common cause with Horus and his followers, but they were at first uncertain about Osiris, and as time went on, and both Rē^{c} and Osiris became more and more powerful, there developed a certain rivalry between the two groups.

The entrance of Horus and his followers into Egypt marked the first great turning point in the culture of ancient Egypt, and the beginning of what is called the Second Civilization of predynastic Egypt. Horus and his followers in the Nile Valley and especially in the West Delta began the movement. It was greatly enriched by the contributions made by the peaceful Osiris and his people ; and it was perfected by the high culture and superior intelligence of Rē^{c} and his worshippers.

Gradually, the leadership of Horus, the peaceful ways of Osiris, and the cultured refinement of Rē^{c} developed into a united Delta, the kingdom of Lower Egypt, with the energetic and warlike Horus as virtual king, and his capital at Buto. However, the peacefulness of Osiris was of a missionary nature, and soon the followers

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of that king or god found themselves moving farther and farther inland, until they reached Abydos. Thus, Osiris, in a peaceful manner had won for the Delta kingdom an empire extending far up the Nile to Abydos. In this may be seen a First Union of Lower and Upper, or at any rate a part of Upper Egypt. The thing naturally displeased Set and his followers. Hostilities broke out, and Osiris, no military leader, was driven back to Busiris, his Delta home, and slain. But his faithful people believed that he rose again from the dead to rule in the world beyond. Isis was desolate, but Rē^{c} was rather indifferent. However, this issue appealed to Horus. He was leader, even king of Lower Egypt. He must avenge the death of his father. Then ensued the conflict between Horus and Set. Horus and his followers were finally successful, conquered Upper Egypt, forced Set and his followers farther up the Nile and into the oases and deserts, and brought about the Second Union of Lower and Upper Egypt. Horus kings reigned in both North and South, and the South became more and more a duplicate of the North. The local capital in the North was Buto, that in the South was Nekhen. This union lasted many years. Meanwhile, newcomers kept trickling into the Delta, with new ideas. Rē^{c} was not altogether enthusiastic about Upper Egypt and the work of Horus. He often expressed a preference for Set. In short, friction arose between Upper and Lower Egypt. The true-blue Horus followers remained single-hearted in their allegiance to Horus, and they were mostly in the South. Finally war broke out between the South and the North. They were now open enemies—the Horus-followers of Upper Egypt and the Horus-followers of Lower Egypt. At last the South prevailed under the leadership of a follower of Horus, King Menes. Menes again united Egypt. This may be called the Third Union. The super-loyal followers of Horus established themselves solidly on the throne of Upper and Lower Egypt. They were kings and they established their god Horus as the Royal God, and as such he remained to the end of Egyptian history.

The above summary of the rise and early political development of Horus and his people is based partly upon legends, partly upon the results of archaeological research, and partly upon a legitimate use of the imagination.[1] This was, in general, as I see it, how Horus and his companion deities and their worshippers were disposed

[1] See for details Mercer Horus, chapters I-III. See an interesting article by Hornblower in *Man*, 1945, No. 38.

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and played their part in the rise and development of life and thought in predynastic Egypt.

The name of the god Horus was usually written by means of a falcon,[2] which is always transliterated as *ḥr*. Sometimes *ḥr* was

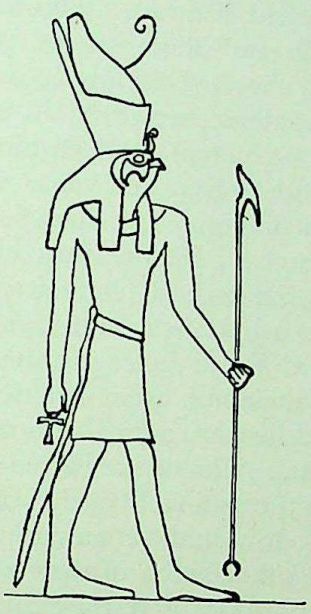

Fig. 11
HORUS, ROYAL GOD

written out by means of a combination of alphabetic and syllabic signs. After the time of the Pyramid Texts some unusual ways are found by which the name was written, but the consonantal value remained the same, namely, *ḥr*. As to the vocalization of *ḥr*, the Coptic used an " o " or an " a ", making *ḥor* or *ḥar*. The " us " in our word Horus is simply the Latin ending, reproducing the Greek ending " os ", which the Greeks added to the Coptic word *ḥor*. Greek writers, however, usually called Horus Apollo. Now, although the hieroglyphic and symbol for the name Horus was usually a falcon, the original idea of the god had something to do with *ḥr*, and only secondarily with a falcon, for " falcon " in Egyptian

[2] V. Loret, in his article " Horus le Faucon ", Bulletin, 3 (1903), 1-24, seems to have proved that the bird under consideration was not the sparrow-hawk, as it used to be supposed, but the falcon, that is, the *falco peregrinus*. Cf. Bénédite, *Fondation E. Piot*, T. 17, Paris, 1909, 1-28 ; Mercer Horus, chapter IV, § 1.

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is *bik*.[3] Archaeology has shown that the fetish and ensign of the city, nome, or group, whose god was Horus, was a falcon. The form it often took was that of the crouching falcon, *gmḥś.w*, *šnb.ti*, and *ʿḫm*, a holy being, a divine image. However, the earliest extant fetish-form of the falcon is the ordinary, standing falcon, which the Egyptians called *bik*, the Copts ⲃⲏϭ or ⲃⲓⲓϫ, and the Greeks ἱέραξ. There is no doubt about the identification of Horus, as a falcon, with the bird *bik*, for, in a religious text of the Middle Kingdom, for example, we read, " I am Horus the falcon (*bik*) ".[4] But there is no means of determining how the falcon as a fetish or ensign came to have the value *ḥr*, for *ḥr* in Egyptian means " face ", or, as a preposition, " upon ", " above ".

The origin of the name *ḥr* and how Horus came to be symbolized by a falcon (*bik*) may never with certainty be determined, but perhaps the prehistoric people, who were later called followers of Horus, and who entered Egypt it seems from across the Red Sea and via the Wâdi Ḥammâmât, were Asiatics and worshipped a heaven-god—the round heaven, a face with two eyes, the sun and moon. Now, in Egyptian, one of the two usual words for heaven has as its root element the sign for " face ", and is written, with a feminine ending, *ḥr.t*. It would be natural for these Asiatics in Egypt, having acquired the speech of their new home, to refer to their heaven-god by the Egyptian masculine word *ḥr*, the face with two eyes, that is, the heaven with the sun and moon. Then the immigrants soon came into contact with people who adored a god under the form of a falcon, a very popular bird in many parts of prehistoric Egypt. So popular, indeed, that the picture of a falcon was very often used as the sign for " god ", like *nṯr*. Why the falcon was so popular, one can only guess. He was a daring bird, one which seemed to fly up even to heaven.[5] In any case, the newcomers identified this high-soaring bird with their heaven-god, and called the bird by the Egyptian word for " above ", or by the masculine form of the word for heaven, namely, *ḥr*. So the old heaven-god was now represented by a falcon, and written as such, but pronounced by the sound of the word for " above ", " face ", the root of the word for " heaven ", that is, " Horus ".

[3] If *ḥr* be an Egyptian form of the Arabic *ḥurr*, which means " falcon ", it would perhaps indicate an Arabian origin for Horus.

[4] Lacau, RT, 27 (1905), 60.

[5] Hopfner Tierkult, 110 ff., collects the reasons given by classical writers on the sacredness of the falcon.

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Thus, the falcon-god took the name *ḥr* because of his identification with the heaven-god of these Asiatic immigrants.

According to prehistoric nome ensigns, the cult of the falcon was one of the oldest in Egypt, and one of the most widespread. There were many falcon-cults at many places all over Egypt, South as well as North. In time, as Horus became great, all of these falcons were identified with, and regarded as, *ḥr*, Horus.

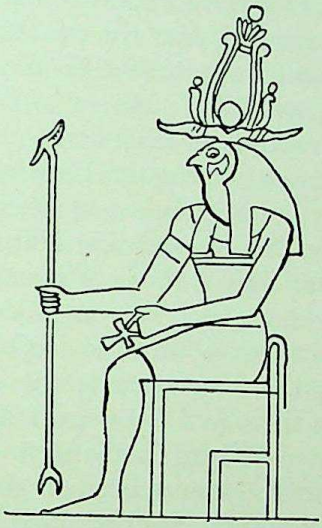

Fig. 12
HORUS THE ELDER

There were three main forms in which the god Horus appeared : Horus the Elder (*Ḥr wr*, Ἀροηρις, Haroëris), Horus the Son of

Fig. 13
HORUS, SON OF ISIS

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Isis (*Ḥr s3 ś.t*, *Ἀρσιῆσις*), and Harpocrates (*Ḥr p3 ẖrd*, "Horus the Child", *Ἁρποκράτης*).[6] Whenever Horus is called the son of Atum or Geb it is Horus the Elder.[7] As son of Geb, he was brother of Osiris. This reflected a very early condition when Set, Horus, and Osiris were brothers and friends. There is no evidence that Horus, in prehistoric times, was considered the son of Rēᶜ. Rather they were friends and associates, both heaven- and light-gods. In the Pyramid Texts Horus and Rēᶜ are equal (PT 1125). But later Horus of Edfu was considered the counterpart of Rēᶜ (Mythe d'Horus, pl. XIII), which accounts for his having been then taken as the son of Rēᶜ (ibid., pl. XV).[8] As son of Osiris and Isis, he was known in legend and inscriptions from first to last in ancient Egypt. When before the dynasties, Horus the Elder made common cause with Osiris, he thereby became the son of Osiris and of Isis the wife of Osiris.[9] Then when Set slew Osiris, Horus took upon himself the task of avenging his slain father. He was successful and thus became the successor of Osiris. As son of Osiris and Isis, Horus appears in Plutarch 38 as son of the Nile (=Osiris) and of the earth (=Isis).[10] The myth that Isis became the mother of Horus by her dead husband Osiris is well known (cf. PT 632, 1635-6), Isis descending on the body of Osiris in the form of a falcon. A story preserved in Pap Louvre 3079 represents Isis as bringing forth her son by her own begetting. She preserved the seed in her womb long after Osiris was dead, although she received it before his death.[11]

As the mother of Horus the Elder was taken to be Hathor (*ḥ.t-ḥr*, "house of Horus"),[12] so Isis the mother of Horus was often represented with the cow's horns of Hathor. Being considered

[6] See Harpocrates also in chapter XXV.

[7] The term *s3*, "son", was used to mean also "grandson", "successor", "heir" (cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 120, p. 100, Anm. 1; PT 973, 977; PT 258, 874, 881; as heir of Geb, PT 1489; and as the "seed" of Geb, PT 466). Horus occurs as the real grandson of Geb in the Metternich Stela (Budge Fetish, 494); at Edfu as the son of Nut and of Geb, brother of Osiris (Chassinat Edfou, I, 575; Ombos, *passim*; Lefébure, Sphinx, 7, 30) as the first-born of Geb in Sethe Memph Theol I, 28a, 30i; and in Plutarch IO, 12, as the son of Geb and Nut.

[8] Cf. Metternich Stela, 209, etc., where Horus is "son of Rēᶜ".

[9] According to Plutarch IO, 12, Horus the Elder was conceived by Osiris and Isis while they were yet in their mother's womb.

[10] Cf. PT 2047.

[11] W. Spiegelberg, "Eine neue Legende über die Geburt des Horus", ÄZ, 53 (1917) 94-97.

[12] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 169.

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also the wife of Horus, Hathor appeared in the New Kingdom as the mother-wife of the same god,[13] and in the Greek period she even assumed the name *Bḥd.ti.t*, "she of *Bḥd.t*".[14] Thus, Horus is said to have had two mothers, just as he had two crowns, and two burial places, and to have been conceived by them in the waters of *Wᶜr.t*, a celestial region.[15] According to other sources, Horus was son of Nut (cf. Mercer Horus, 103), born on the second of the five epagomenal days of the year.[16] This was, of course, Horus the Elder. In Greek times (Plutarch IO, 12) Horus was considered the son of Rhea (Nut) and of Cronos (Geb). In a loose sense, Horus was called the son of Nekhbet and Thot, and likewise it seems, the offspring of Sekhmet,[17] just as he was called the first child of Amūn, the son of Montu, the son of Orion, and the grandson of Ptah.

According to almost all sources, Horus was born in *3ḫ-biti*, identified with *Bḥd.t*, that is, *Sm3-Bḥd.t*, or Diospolis parva, the modern Tell el-Balamūn, of the XVIIth Lower Egyptian nome.[18] This tradition persisted from the earliest to the latest times,[19] from the Pyramid Texts to Plutarch. The legends that Horus was born from a lotus, or under the sacred Persea-tree, are late. His home, as distinct from his birthplace, was Buto. According to Plutarch, he was reared in Byblos. By the time of the Pyramid Texts, Horus had largely become either a royal god, representing the pharaoh and being identified with him, or a sun- and sky-god, closely associated with Rēᶜ, so that his home became a celestial and other-worldly one.[20] At the same time certain earthly localities were particularly associated with him.

As a rule Hathor was considered the wife of Horus.[21] Their marriage was celebrated annually at Edfu, when a new Horus was

[13] Hathor had other sons, one of whom was *Sm3-t3.wi*, who later became *Ḥr-sm3-t3.wi*, Harsomtus, a form of Horus (cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 146, Anm. 1).

[14] Wörterbuch ; cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 146.

[15] E. Drioton, Annales, 39 (1939), 70.

[16] The birthday of Horus was usually put as on the 28th day of the 4th month of winter (*Mélanges d'Arch. égyptienne*, Vol. 2 (1874) 299 ff.) ; but it is given as the 23rd and 30th of the 3rd month of summer in "The Tomb of Amenemhēt" (Theban Tombs Series I), London, 1915, 116.

[17] Pap Edwin Smith, pl. 20, l. 10.

[18] PT 2190, 1214 ; cf. Gardiner, JEA 30 (1944), 23-60 ; Sethe Urgeschichte, 169.

[19] See Mercer Horus, chapter IV, n. 31, to be in part corrected.

[20] See, for details, Mercer Horus, chapter IV, § 2.

[21] E.g. Denderah, III 32i.

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born. As his wife, Hathor was called *Ḥr.t*, the female Horus.[22] But Horus had many wives, the names of some of whom are extant, and his harem is referred to in Amenemope (III, 7). The most important children of Horus were his four sons :[23] *'Imśti*, a man-

Fig. 14
HORUS AND HIS FOUR SONS

headed deity, representing the south ; *Ḥ3pi*, a dog-headed deity, standing for the north ; *Dw3-mw.t.f*, jackal-headed, representing the east ; and *Ḳbḥ-śn.w.f*, falcon-headed, standing for the west. As genii of hades, to the first was dedicated the stomach ; to the second, the small intestines ; to the third, the lungs and throat ; and to the fourth, the liver and gall-bladder. These human parts were kept in four Canopic jars, over each of which one of the sons presided. Other sons of Horus were : 'Iḥi, god of music, and Harsomtus, " uniter of the Two Lands ", both by Hathor. An ancient legend makes Thot also a son of Horus.[24] There is an early reference to an eldest daughter (*s3.t.f wr.t*) of Horus (PT 1008), and there are also references to four grandsons.[25] Horus and Set were often represented as brothers. The relationship between these two gods will be treated fully in the next chapter.

Of the numerous titles ascribed to Horus, that which occurs oftenest is the epithet, " lord of heaven " (*nb-p.t*). He was thus a heaven- or sky-god *par excellence*. Closely connected with his character as a heaven-god were other titles, such as, " he of the horizon " (*3ḫ.ti*), " Horus of the east " (*Ḥr-'i3b.ti*), " Horus of the west " (*Ḥr-'imn.ti*), " Horus of the north " (*Ḥr-mḥ.ti*), " Horus

[22] Lanzone Diz, 681.
[23] E.g. PT 1092, 1333, 1339, 1548, 2078.
[24] Budge Fetish, p. 152 ; Pap Chester Beatty I, p. 23, n. 1.
[25] Bergmann Texte, I, 7 ; Edfu, I, 15, A-H.

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of the south" (*Ḥr-rśw*),[26] and "Horus, presider over the Dwat" (*Ḥr-ḫnti-D(w)3.t*). The next most frequent title of Horus was "son of Isis" (*Ḥr-s3-ś.t*) and "son of Osiris" (*Ḥr-s3-ś.t-'ir*). The titles *Ḥr-Bḥd.ti* and *nb-mśn* were of ancient Delta origin, as were also "Horus of Libya", "Horus, lord of Pe", "Horus, lord of Ḫm (Letopolis)", "Horus of Heliopolis", "Horus of Nekhen (Edfu)", "Horus, lord of Nubia", and "Horus over the Ombite". This last, used as a royal title from the time of the second king of the Third Dynasty, in later times was used in the sense of "Horus of gold". His greatest political title was "lord of Lower Egypt", and as a supreme ruler-god, he was represented with four men in front of him, indicating as many nations.[27] These are the most important, but only a few, of the numerous titles of Horus. For a fairly complete list to date, see Appendix I of my book, *Horus, Royal god of Egypt*.

From prehistoric times to the latest periods in Egyptian history, the falcon was the greatest symbol of Horus.[28] When Horus and

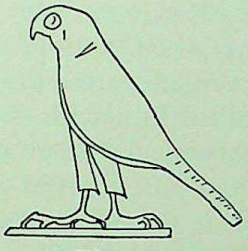

Fig. 15
THE FALCON, SYMBOL OF HORUS

his followers conquered Upper Egypt, he assumed another symbol, without discarding the old. This new symbol was a sun-disk with the outspread wings of a falcon, connected Horus more closely with Rēᶜ, and designated him as Horus *Bḥd.t*,[29] god of Edfu. The lance also symbolized Horus, no doubt, from the earliest times, when he and his followers came from Asia, with copper weapons, and made common cause with the harpooners of the West Delta.

[26] Compare this also with the four Horuses: "Horus of the gods", "Horus of the horizon", "Horus of the east", and "Horus *śsm.ti* (PT 525-8, 1085-6).

[27] Lepsius, *Wandgemälde*, Taf. 15, Nr. 5.

[28] Even in the womb of his mother he was a falcon (Lacau TR, XVII).

[29] On *Bḥd.t* and its location see JEA 30 (1944) 23-60, where Gardiner has shown that *Bḥd.t* was at or near Tell el-Balamūn and not at Damanḥūr.

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This symbol became the spear of Horus, when as a St. George, in Coptic times, he slew Set, the dragon. Horus was also symbolized by a crocodile. As conqueror of Set, his symbol was the *nb* (or *nwb*)-sign ; and as Harpocrates he was a child.

There were many Horus gods, and while all Horus gods were falcon-gods, all gods associated with a falcon were not necessarily Horus gods. Some of the Horus gods, such as, for example, Horus of *Bḥd.t* were worshipped at various places. Originally there may have been but one Horus. However, that, no doubt, did not last long, for it is perhaps probable that various groups or clans at different places, and at different times, adored the falcon. The Pyramid Texts often mention four Horuses,[30] referred to above, which seem to have been at an early date confounded with the four children of Horus.

Besides the three great fundamental forms of Horus, namely, Horus the Elder, Horus son of Isis and Osiris, and Harpocrates, there were about twelve other important Horus gods. Horus the Elder was Horus who was worshipped by the immigrants who entered Egypt across the Red Sea long before the rise of the dynasties. He was a heaven-god, personifying the face of the sky, the sun in heaven being his right eye and the moon his left.[31] Before long popular fancy identified him with the greater eye, the sun. But this had perhaps a historical background, resulting from the alliance between Horus and Rēᶜ, the sun-god of Heliopolis. The form which Horus the Elder usually assumed was either that of a falcon, a falcon-headed man, or a falcon-headed lion, wearing either the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, or a variety of crowns. He was the brother of both Osiris and Set. Horus *Bḥd.t* was the same god, who had made his home in the West Delta. When he and his people conquered Upper Egypt, the name *Bḥd.t* was transferred south and applied to what we call Edfu, so that Edfu was called "the *Bḥd.t* of Upper Egypt.[32] The usual form taken by Horus *Bḥd.t* was that of a winged-sun, a combination of a sun-disk with the wings of a falcon. He also occurs very often as a man with a falcon's head and double crown. Harachte (*Ḥr-ȝḫ.ti*, *Ḥr-ȝḫ.twi*, "Horus of the horizon", "Horus of the two horizons") is the form which Horus *Bḥd.t* took when he allied himself with Rēᶜ. As Harachte, his original

[30] A second group of four Horuses are mentioned in PT 1257-1258; cf. 1510.
[31] Cf. ÄZ, 67 (1931), 53-4.
[32] Sethe Urgeschichte, 149.

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heaven, sky, and light characteristics were emphasized.[33] By the time of the Pyramid Texts Horus and Rēᶜ became almost identical in the form of Harachte or Rēᶜ-Harachte. Harachte was usually represented as a falcon-headed man with solar disk and triple crown or with the uraeus and the *atef* crown. Harmachis (*Ḥr-m-ȝḫ.t*, "Horus on the horizon", Ἁρμαχις) was perhaps Horus as the rising sun. The name was applied to the Sphinx of Gizeh. He was often represented as a falcon-headed man, wearing various crowns. Harsomtus (*Ḥr-smȝ-tȝ.wi*, "Horus uniter of the Two Lands", Ἁρσομτοῦς) was considered the son of Horus of Edfu and Hathor, and heir of Horus. As a rule, he was represented as a human-headed mummy, a falcon-headed man with disk and plumes, or as a serpent-headed man. Horus of the Two Eyes, or Horus possessor of the Two Eyes (*Ḥr-'ir.ti*, *Ḥr-ḫnti-'ir.ti*) was Horus the Elder in Letopolis,[34] especially before the conflict between Horus and Set. Both this form of Horus as well as Horus of the Two *Mr.ti*-eyes (*Ḥr-mr.ti*), another form of Horus the Elder, appeared as a falcon-headed man with solar disk and uraeus, resting upon the horns of the god Khnum, and holding in his hands the two *wḏȝ.t*-eyes of Horus.[35] Horus possessor of the Body (*Ḥr-ḫnti-ḫ.ti*) appeared as a crocodile-headed man, with horns of Khnum, surmounted by the *atef*-crown. The Blind Horus (*Ḥr-ḫnti-n-'ir.ti*) was Horus as the heaven-god when neither the sun nor the moon was visible.[36] He was represented either as a mummified falcon, or as a falcon-headed man. Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris (Ἁρσιῆσις), after the death of his father Osiris at the hand of Set, avenged him by conquering Set and taking his kingdom from him. With this Horus were identified at one time or another all the various Horus gods, beginning with Horus the Elder and ending with the least important Horus of a small provincial town. He was often represented in the form of a falcon, but perhaps oftener as a falcon-headed man, with the double crown, the *ᶜnḫ* in his right hand, and the *wȝḍ* in his left. In late times he often appeared in a variety of fantastic forms.[37] Horus avenger of his Father (*Ḥr-nḏ-'it.f*, Ἁρενδώτης) was the same as Horus son of Isis and Osiris. Horus, Strong of arm (*ṯmȝ-ᶜ*) is only another form

[33] Amūn hymn Leid, I 350, recto 5, 19.
[34] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 141 ; Lefébure, *Sphinx*, IX 19-20.
[35] See for a late "pantheistic" form of *Ḥr-mr.ti* ÄZ, 75 (1939) 130-2.
[36] Cf. H. Junker, *Der sehende und blinde Gott*, München, 1942.
[37] Cf. Mercer Horus, chapter V, *passim*.

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of Horus avenger of his Father, appearing as a falcon-headed man, with a long, sharp-pointed, metal-headed spear. Horus pillar of his Mother (*Ḥr-ʾiwn-mwt.f*) was at home in Edfu.[38] Horus of Praises (*Ḥr-ḥknw*) was thought to be a son of Bast, and appeared in the form of a lion, but he was represented also as a falcon-headed man with sun-disk and uraeus. Harpocrates (*Ḥr-p3-ḫrd*, "Horus the Child", Ἁρποκράτης) was thought to have been the offspring of the intercourse of Osiris and Isis after the death of the former.[39] He is, therefore, distinct from "Horus son of Isis and Osiris" in his attributes, but not in essence, for it is by this name of the god Horus that a distinction can be made in the Pyramid Texts between Horus the Elder and Horus born in *3ḫ-biti*. He is called in the Pyramid Texts, "Horus the child, the babe, his finger in his mouth" (663). He was represented in numerous forms and postures, but usually as a youth with a lock of hair on the right side of his head, and with his finger in his mouth. There were many other local and minor forms of the god Horus, among them being Horon, a form of Horus, recently discovered, which may have been of Canaanite origin.[40]

From first to last in ancient Egypt, many local gods became identified with Horus. Some became Horuses, as we have already seen, but many, without becoming Horuses, were identified with Horus, although at the same time retaining their own characteristics and attributes. Thus, Horus and Rēᶜ were in many respects identified, yet always distinct. Rēᶜ originally was a cosmic god, the sun. Now, cosmic gods by being identified with gods having an external "form" gained a form for themselves. So when Rēᶜ was identified with Horus, he took the falcon-form of Horus, with the title Rēᶜ-Harachte, that is, "Rēᶜ-Horus-of-the-Horizon". Thenceforth, Horus and Rēᶜ were closely identified, and from the time of the Twelfth Dynasty the form Rēᶜ-Horus or Horus-Rēᶜ became common.[41] On their way to the Nile from the Red Sea the followers of Horus saw in the local god of Achmim (later Koptos) a divine being identical with Horus. Thus, began the identification of Horus with Min, whose name, *Mnw-Ḥr*,[42] was maintained

[38] See Lanzone Diz, 619-20; cf. Jacobsohn, *Die Dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der alten Aegypter*, Glückstadt—Hamburg, 1939, p. 70.

[39] Plutarch IO, 19.

[40] See Mercer Horus, Chapter V, *passim*; see also below in chapter XII.

[41] Cf. Drioton, *L'Egypte*, p. 85; Bucheum, II, 26; Rochem, II, 26.

[42] Rochem, I, 390, 5b; cf. Petrie Koptos, 20a, 13.

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throughout Egyptian history.[43] Suchos or Sebek (*śbk*), the crocodile god, was god of a nome, the god of whose capital city was a falcon-deity. So an identification was brought about, and Horus in the form of Suchos was said to have brought the members of Osiris out of the water.[44] Soker, an early fetish god, was worshipped as a falcon, and appeared in the archaic form of a mummy, with the head of a falcon. Shu appeared as Horus-Shu ; Khonsu seems to have been originally a form of Horus ;[45] *Ḥr-ḥbnw*, the Hipponon of the Greeks in the *Mythe d'Horus* was a Horus-god ; Montu was identified with Horus ;[46] Amun of Thebes was called "Horus of the two horizons" ;[47] Anubis in time became identified with Horus, taking the form *Ḥr-m-'inpw*, Hermanubis ;[48] and Sopdu (*śpdw*) appeared from the earliest times as *Ḥr-śpdw*.[49] Many other gods were identified with Horus,[50] as were all the sovereigns of Egypt.[51] As last divine king of Egypt and as living thenceforth in every succeeding ruler of Egypt, Horus was from first to last the royal god of Egypt.

The interests of Horus were common with those of almost all the gods of Egypt, but there were many deities with whom he was especially associated. Besides Set, who will be discussed separately with Horus in chapter V, the chief among them was Osiris, his father. Indeed, Horus was almost identified with Osiris, for he was regarded as Osiris re-born,[52] and Osiris-Horus was considered a form of the rising sun.[53] However, Horus was the heir of Osiris, and it was his duty to care for him and to avenge him, to succeed him as king in this world, and in funerary scenes to lead the dead into his presence.[54] When Horus the Elder allied

[43] See Kees, AZ, 57 (1922), 132 ; Erman-Blackman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1927, 137 f. ; Capart, *Temple de Séti* I, pl. 35 (lower section) ; Rochem, I, 82 ; II, 44 ; Mar Ab, II, 41.

[44] Junker, *Götterdekret* (Denk. Wien. Ak. 56, 4) 41 ff.

[45] Cf. Nelson, *Ramses III's Temple*, Pt. I, pl. 54.

[46] Otto Stierkulte, 47.

[47] Brugsch, *Grosse Oase*, 15, 8-10 ; cf. Budge Fetish, 414.

[48] Perdrizet, "Les representations d'Anoubis", RE, I (1919), 185 ff. ; cf. Budge Gods, I, 494 ; Sethe Urgeschichte, 62 ; Kees Horus und Seth, I, 29.

[49] PT 330 ; cf. PT 1534 ; BAR, III, 155 ; Denderah, IV, 13 ; de Rougé, *Géographie*, 141 ; Junker Onurislegende, 47-8.

[50] See Mercer Horus, chapter VI, § 1.

[51] See Mercer Horus, chapter VI, § 1.

[52] Budge Gods, II 256 ; Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, Cambridge, 1915, Vol. I, p. 63, n. 5 ; p. 70 and n. 3.

[53] Budge Fetish, 192.

[54] PT 575 ff. ; Plutarch IO, 19 ; Budge Fetish, 306.

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himself with Osiris and Isis, he became their son. Thenceforth, Horus and Isis were intimately associated, and together played a large and important rôle in all Egyptian religion. With Horus were also associated Hathor, who became, as we have seen, his wife-mother, and Thot, his loyal friend and defender. Many other deities were more or less closely associated with Horus.[55]

The earliest archaeological evidence of the god Horus comes from the Amratian cultural period. It is the picture of a falcon standing on a *śerekh*, or throne, drawn on a potsherd. It is an exceedingly primitive and undeveloped piece of work.[56] The second bit of archaeological evidence, in chronological order comes from the Gerzean period, in the form of a falcon on a nome standard, drawn on a piece of pottery. It also is very simple and undeveloped.[57] The third piece of evidence represents the Semainean cultural period, and consists of, at least, three falcon palettes, very simply executed.[58] The fourth comes from the same period, and is a crude picture of a falcon on a standard.[59] The fifth comes from the rock-drawings discovered by Winkler in Upper Egypt, representing perhaps a later part of the Semainean period, but may be much earlier, and represents three crudely-drawn falcons.[60] The sixth piece of prehistoric evidence comes from the reign of the "Scorpion" king. According to present extant material, the falcon occurs several times in his reign.[61] At this point it should be noted that it is not at all certain that in every one of the above cases the falcon indicates Horus. But it is quite possible and even probable that it does. In any case, from the time of the "Scorpion" king on, when the falcon occurs hundreds of times, we shall be concerned, in this study, only with the falcon as the symbol of a god or of a deified sovereign. Indeed, the falcon appeared as a symbol and title of every Egyptian ruler from

55 See Mercer Horus, chapter VI, § 2.

56 Petrie Making, pl. XIII, no. 62.

57 Petrie Making, pl. XXVII, no. 118, M 3; Petrie DP, pl. XVI, 41b, and pl. IV.

58 Petrie Making, pl. XXXI, nos. 44, 45, 48, and perhaps also nos. 46, 47, 49.

59 Petrie Making, pl. XXXI, no. 60.

60 Winkler, *Rock-Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*, I, London, 1938, pl. XI, nos. 1-4.

61 Quibell Hierak, pls. XII, XVII, XIX, XXXIV; Junker, *Bericht über die Grabung auf dem Friedhof in Turah*, Wien, 1912, 5 ff. See fig. 5.

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"Scorpion" to the very end of Egyptian history.[62] Beginning with the reign of Adjib (Miebis) of the First Dynasty, two falcons often occur before the royal name. From the beginning of the Old Kingdom, contemporaneous material becomes quite abundant, and historical ground is firm. Moreover, the Pyramid Texts, while written in the latter part of the Fifth and during the Sixth Dynasties, contain material which certainly reaches back over the three hundred and fifty years, since the end of the Second Dynasty, and most likely farther still, in some details, at any rate, to predynastic times. In these texts, religious and political ideas about Horus are numerous.[63] Indeed, we find him in the Pyramid Texts very much as he continued to be and remained to the end of Egyptian religion, and the abundant later legends about him seem to draw largely upon ideas about him in these early texts. Therein his name and titles are found, his genealogical relationships and offspring, his nature, attributes and activities, his relation to other deities, his relation to the king, and abundant material to indicate his religious characteristics. Therein we find him as Horus the Elder, Horus son of Isis and Osiris, and Harpocrates. Additional details, of course, are to be found in religious and even in historical texts in all periods of Egyptian history, the most important of these will have been assessed before we come to the end of our task.

As one of the best known Egyptian gods, the forms and postures of Horus in ancient texts and pictures are numerous. Except as Harpocrates, Horus was very rarely represented in complete human form. As Harsomtus he was so represented; also as Son of Isis, represented as a man as well as a boy; as Horus-Amūn; as Horus (simply); and as Horus the Elder. These examples, however, are rare.[64] Horus was represented, as a rule, either in the form of a falcon or in that of a falcon-headed man. There are but a comparatively few exceptions. The earliest occurrence of Horus in any representation is in that of a falcon, as we have already seen. This was the form in which he appeared hundreds of times. The falcon, as Horus, occurs in Egypt more often than the symbol of any other god. Sometimes he was represented as a falcon-headed lion, as a falcon-headed crocodile, and even as a serpent, but these and similar unusual forms were rare. He was also represented as

[62] Even the two Set kings Peribsen and Khasekhemui of the Second Dynasty used also the falcon as a symbol (cf. Burchardt and Pieper, *Handbuch der aegyptischen Königsnamen*, Hft. I, Leipzig, 1912, p. 8).

[63] Cf. T. G. Allen, *Horus in the Pyramid Texts*, Chicago, 1916.

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an animal with a human head, as in the case of the famous sphinx at Gizeh, in which case it was Horus in the form of Harmachis. But, except as a falcon, Horus was most often represented as a falcon-headed man. The earliest example of such a representation seems to be that on a seal of Peribsen of the Second Dynasty, where Horus stands before the Set name of the king, with an *ʿnḫ* in his right hand and a *wȝś* in his left.[65] Other examples are found on the seals of the same king and especially on those of Khasekhemui, of the same dynasty, but this one seems to have the distinction of being the first.[66] Some forms of Horus appear as a man with the head of a ram, a lion, a crocodile, a serpent, or a bull, but they are rare. He was also represented in composite and grotesque forms.[67] As Harpocrates, in late times, he appeared almost always as a

Fig. 16
HARPOCRATES AS A CHILD

child, or youth, with his finger in his mouth, and with a lock of hair falling from the side of his head. He was represented more often in a sitting than in a standing or walking position. Harpocrates, however, was never represented in the complete form of an animal. At Kom Ombo, he appears as a falcon-headed man, but this is exceptional.

For the period previous to the rise of the dynasties, apart from inference from the Pyramid Texts, we know very little about Egyptian theological ideas. We do know, however, that the deceased were provided with weapons, ornaments, and food,

64 See for references Mercer Horus, chapter IX.
65 Petrie RT, II, pl. XXI, no. 176.
66 Petrie RT, II, pls. XXII-XXIII.
67 Mercer Horus, chapter IX, § 4.

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apparently for a future existence, in which we may suppose they believed. We also know that long before 3000 B.C. many deities were recognized, one of the oldest and most important of whom was a falcon-god, Horus. There probably were many falcon-gods, the attributes of many of whom were soon absorbed by Horus. Horus began his career as a heaven- or sky-god, and as such he always remained to a large extent, although modified, changed, and added to. The first modification in the character of Horus came as a result of his migration from across the Red Sea to Egypt and finally to the Delta. He became through that long period a leader- and warrior-god, Horus the Elder. His ensign was a falcon, symbolizing the sky, and on a standard designating leadership. In this form, he, no doubt, was worshipped. The second modification in his character and attributes came after he had united the West Delta and had met Osiris in Busiris. There was much in common between the two gods. They both came perhaps from Western Asia, and both had similar ideas and ideals. These two, with Isis of Sebennytos, formed an alliance—Osiris becoming father, Isis wife, and Horus son. The old indigenous god Set was also included, and became the brother of Osiris. The third modification in the character and attributes of Horus came when he met Rē^{c}. Here were two heaven-, sky-, light-gods. Horus and Rē^{c} were natural allies, indeed, in time they became partially identified. The fourth modification came as a result of the death of Osiris at the hand of Set, the defeat of Set, and the final union of Upper and Lower Egypt, with Horus as the divine king, the royal god of Egypt. The fifth and final modification in his character and attributes came in late times when he became Harpocrates. All the myths, legends, and theology which grew up around the name of Horus had to do with some one or more of these six fundamental attributes of the god—Horus as an ancient heaven-god, Horus as a war-god, Horus as a god of the underworld (due to his alliance with Osiris), Horus as a sun-god (due to his association with Rē^{c}), Horus as a royal god, and Horus as Harpocrates.

Archaeological finds representing the first historic period in ancient Egyptian history, that is, the first two dynasties, though scant, definitely refer to certain important attributes of Horus, such as those of "splendour", "majesty", "protection", "love", and "goodness". He was "adored", and his good "pleasure" was much desired.[68] In the Pyramid Texts of the end of the Fifth

[68] Bayer Religion, *passim*.

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and of the Sixth Dynasties, there is much material which certainly reaches back to the time of the Second Dynasty, if not to a very much earlier period. In these texts there is an abundance of material about Horus, even though full of inconsistencies and even contradictions; for Egyptian myths and legends were never developed into a clear and complete system of thought. These texts, with light from archaeological finds, and with later native religious and historical sources, as well as with the aid of Classical commentators, furnish a means of following in outline the chief characteristics and attributes of Horus. They reveal to us the god as Horus the Great, as heaven-god, leader-god, and god of war, who had his followers or worshippers, and who with Set was supreme in Egypt. They show us Horus as son of Osiris, the loving and filial defender of his father, and the opponent of all wrong (as personified in Set). He even raised his father, Osiris, from the dead, enabling him to become the god of the dead and of resurrection, an event which was forever afterwards celebrated as the *Śed*-festival, and as Osiris became king of the dead in the underworld, the Dwat, so Horus became intimately connected with it. Horus made the dead identical with Osiris, especially the dead monarch. They show us Horus as the associate of Rē^{c}, adorned with the varied-coloured, outspread wings of the disk of the sun. He thus became a sun-god, especially in his rising above the eastern horizon. Both Horus and Rē^{c} then became dynastic gods, when a certain rivalry arose between them. Finally, Rē^{c} was transferred to heaven, just as Osiris was transferred to the underworld, and Horus was completely and finally established as royal, dynastic god. They show us also that even then Horus retained duties which associated him with the heaven of Rē^{c}, on the one hand, and with the underworld of Osiris, on the other, but in both his rôle was secondary. Thus, he became god of the ladder of the sky, with his sons he supported the sky, he transported the dead king to heaven; and, on the other hand, by his power the king after death became an Osiris, and, in time, the common people found in him a friend and guide in the world of the beyond. Finally, they show us Horus-Harpocrates as the popular god of Graeco-Roman Egypt and of regions beyond the borders of the ancient African realm of Horus. Thus, according to Pistis Sophia, each world seemed to have its god Horus. Among the Greeks, Horus became Apollo, and in the Roman world, he was universally recognized.

It may safely be assumed, on the basis of universal religious

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knowledge, that the worship of Horus is as old as the idea of the god itself. Before his followers came with him to Egypt, he was adored. Perhaps, however, the earliest extant recorded statement of the worship of Horus is found on the Palermo Stone, on the part

Fig. 17

A LATE FORM OF HORUS ; AS A GREEK WARRIOR

which deals with the Second Dynasty,[69] and one of the earliest cult objects ever found in Egypt is a copper falcon with golden head from Hierakonpolis.[70] The falcon as Horus was considered holy from the earliest times, having been mummified and adored.[71] As we shall see, Horus had his temples and shrines in all parts of Egypt, as well as his altars and priests. There are extant records of priests of Horus as early as the Third Dynasty ;[72] and as early as the First Dynasty there are contemporaneous records of festivals of Horus,[73] and of his religious processions.[74] Horus had his ceremonial boats, and in them actual ceremonial voyages were made.[75] There were litanies and singers.[76] There was an elaborate ritual

[69] Bayer Religion, 419-20 ; cf. Newberry, AE, 1914, p. 153.
[70] Cf. Erman Religion, 172.
[71] Cf. Loret, *Bulletin*, 3 (1903), 1-24.
[72] Pirenne Histoire, 313.
[73] BAR, I 91-167, and p. 57.
[74] Bayer Religion, 417.
[75] See Sethe Dram Texts, II 103-5 ; Pap Turin, P and R 134, 6.
[76] See A. Rusch, ÄZ, 60 (1925), 29 ff., also p. 26.

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of the Eye of Horus,[77] in which Horus gave his eye to Osiris and with which Horus opened the eye of Osiris, that is, restored him to life.[78] This ritual has reference to the resuscitation or resurrection of Osiris by his son Horus, as a result of which Osiris became king of the Dwat,[79] which became the predominating idea in all mortuary ritual. There were services of purification, which had their prototype in the purification of the deceased king by Horus and Set in the presence of Atum. To Horus offerings were made at all periods. There are still extant many pictures of them, where an idea may be gained of the attitude of the god, the altar, and the *res sacrificii*.[80] Sacrifices were symbolized by the " Eye of Horus ", for as Horus gave his eye to Osiris, so the eye became the symbol of all good gifts, especially sacrificial gifts. Conversely, anything offered as a sacrifice was a symbol of the Eye of Horus. Strange to say, there seem to be extant no prayers addressed to Horus as one finds in the case of Osiris, Rē^{c}, Thot, Amūn. In Graeco-Roman times, the various objects connected with Horus acquired magical properties. Thus, the falcon, the spear, figures of Harpocrates became amulets and were used as such. This was due, no doubt, in part to the belief that Horus inherited the extraordinary power of magic possessed by his mother, becoming, as a result, the " perfect magician ".[81] However, in spite of such magical notions, the ancient saying of Ptah-hotep to the effect that " a son that hath heard is a worshipper of Horus "[82] expresses more truly the universal Egyptian respect for Horus and for men's worship of him.

[77] See " The Eye of Horus ", Mercer Horus, chapter VII. The myth of the Eye of Horus, though not extant in its complete form, can with a fair degree of certainty be reconstructed from the numerous references to it in the Pyramid Texts, the Seventeenth Chapter of the Book of the Dead, and the famous *Mythe d'Horus*. The myth may indeed be a legend, behind which was an historical event, the wounding of the eye of Horus by his opponent Set—two prehistoric human leaders. The myth or legend then was in time interpreted in a cosmological way, Horus symbolizing light, and Set symbolizing darkness. It was interpreted geographically, the left eye representing Upper Egypt, and the right eye (Horus) representing Lower Egypt. It finally was interpreted in a moral way, Horus symbolizing good, and Set symbolizing evil.

[78] Rusch, ÄZ, 60 (1925), 34-6.

[79] Cf. Budge, *The Book of Opening the Mouth*, London, 1909 ; Moret, *Le Rituel du Culte divin journalier en Egypt*, Paris, 1902.

[80] Lanzone Diz, pls. 230-2.

[81] Piankoff, *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 351.

[82] Erman-Blackman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1927, p. 64.

State Museum, LUCKNOW.
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The worship of Horus was universal in Egypt from the earliest times, and during the dynasties his sanctuaries were common throughout the land. There were "nomes of Horus" and "sanctuaries of Horus" (PT 1522), and there were numerous cities, towns, and villages where he was adored; and his temples, chapels, and shrines were to be found in Nubia and foreign lands as well as in Egypt. Although the worship of Horus never was as popular as that of Osiris or Amūn-Rē^{c}, except in Graeco-Roman times, it was none the less universal as a public cult, more or less official and royal. The earliest important place of the worship of Horus in Egypt, so far as we know, was *Bḥd.t*, in the northern Delta, but the most renowned place was at Edfu in Upper Egypt, where the great temple of Horus still stands, the best-preserved in all Egypt.

A list of the nomes, cities and other localities in Egypt where Horus was worshipped, with fairly full descriptions, is given in my book on *Horus, Royal God of Egypt*, chapter VIII. In twelve of the Delta nomes and in an equal number in Upper Egypt, Horus was either the patron god, was identified with the patron god, was associated with him, or had some special connection with him. There in all these nomes Horus, no doubt, was adored. Judging by the numerous cities, towns, and other localities where we have evidence of Horus sanctuaries, it may be fairly assumed that there was no important place in ancient Egypt where Horus was not worshipped. And after the colonization of Nubia in the Middle and New Kingdoms, sanctuaries of Horus gradually sprang up there. Then later, in Greece, the worship of Horus, as Apollo, and especially as Harpocrates, was widespread. Then, still later, his cult, with that of Osiris and Isis, was carried to Rome, whence it spread to other parts of Italy and over considerable parts of Europe, as far north as Antwerp. Eastward, it spread over Western Asia, in Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia. The temples, and especially shrines, where Horus was worshipped in Egypt, of which there is definite extant evidence, are many. Although the earliest sanctuary of Horus, specifically mentioned, belongs to the Third Dynasty,[83] we may be sure that by that time his shrines were common all over Egypt, and with the passage of time, besides the numerous temples, chapels, and shrines, especially dedicated to Horus, there was not an important temple which did not have a special part consecrated to him.

[83] Pirenne Histoire, I, 312.

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CHAPTER V

HORUS AND SET

WITH the possible exception of Osiris and Rēᶜ, no other two gods in the whole Egyptian pantheon had as much to do with each other as Horus and Set. In prehistoric days, when Horus and his followers made their way into the southern Valley of the Nile, they, no doubt, made contact with the great indigenous god Set and his worshippers. The later establishment of the Horus people in the Delta, their alliance with the followers of Osiris and Isis, and their friendship with those of Rēᶜ must have been viewed with alarm by the followers of Set. The spread of Osiris and his followers southwards into the Nile Valley brought about a conflict with Set. Osiris was slain, and his son, Horus, set out to avenge his death on Set. Horus and his followers were victorious, and finally established themselves as masters of Upper as well as Lower Egypt.[1] From the time of Set's defeat at the hands of Horus, his star gradually waned. During only three periods in the long history of ancient Egypt did his power revive—during a part of the Second Dynasty, during the Hyksos régime, and during the reigns of some of the Ramesides. After that, his reputation deteriorated steadily,[2] until by the end of Egyptian history he was none other than the devil himself. The many myths and legends, in which Horus and Set are involved reflect the various periods and phases in the career of the two gods, and on the basis of them, together with historical references and archaeological evidence, we can trace, with some detail, the relationship between them, especially for the earlier periods.

Before the extension of the power of Osiris into Upper Egypt, friendship reigned between the old indigenous god Set, Horus the Elder, who had become Horus son of Osiris, and Osiris. The fact of the ancient friendship of Horus and Set[3] is reflected with great

[1] Horus was crowned king of Upper and Lower Egypt in Memphis according to a very ancient document, Sethe Dram Texte, I, 32, and 76.

[2] Cf. BD, chapter 134.

[3] See for a full treatment of this subject, H. Kees, *Horus und Seth als Götterpaar* (MVAG, 1923, 1 ; 1924, 1), Leipzig, 1923-1924.

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fullness in later tradition, especially in the Pyramid Texts, where Horus and Set are twin gods who help Osiris ascend the ladder to heaven (971, cf. 390) ; where both are represented as associated with Heliopolis (Ut. 222) ; where both (here Thot takes the place of Set) assist at the purification of the deceased (519, 1247), Set's spittle being used in the same way as that of Horus (850) ; where Set performs the same friendly offices for the dead as Horus (1492-3), fraternizing with the dead just as Horus did (1016) ; where there is abundant evidence of their unity and general friendship (e.g. 141, 418, 473, 487, 535, 594, 601, 683, 798, 823, 946, 1148) ; and where Set is represented as quite beneficent and not at all evil (e.g. 370, 832, 1612-13, cf. 17, 826, 852). There is, moreover, historical evidence, much earlier than the Pyramid Texts, which reflects the friendship of Horus and Set. Thus, Khasekhemui of the Second Dynasty stood under the protection of Horus and Set, whom he represented together, each wearing the red and the white crown ;[4]

Fig. 18

HORUS AND SET, EACH WEARING THE DOUBLE CROWN

the wife of Khafre of the Fourth Dynasty bore the title " she who sees Horus and Set " ;[5] and in the *Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie*, Cg, they appear as friends. After the time of the Pyramid Texts, such references are numerous.[6] In scenes representing coronation ceremonies Horus and Set may be seen together as companions ;[7] they are sometimes represented together purifying the king ;[8]

[4] Petrie History, I, p. 21, fig. M.

[5] Petrie RT, II, pl. XXVII 96, 128-9 ; cf. Firth and Gunn, I, 89 ; Kees Horus und Set, I, 63 ; de Rougé, *Six Premières Dynasties*, Paris, 1866, 58.

[6] See Mercer Horus, chapter III, n. 64.

[7] Naville Deir el-Bahari, III, pl. 64 ; LD, III, 124d.

[8] LD, III, 124d ; cf. Kees Horus und Seth, I, 23 f. ; in Graeco-Roman period Thot took the place of Set in purifying rites, e.g. Pap Rhind, I, 6, 1-2.

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together they united the two lands under the authority of the king ;[9] they appeared together at the *Śed*-festival ;[10] in union they instructed the king in the use of weapons ;[11] and served together as protective

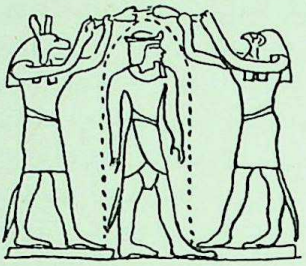

Fig. 19
HORUS AND SET PURIFYING THE KING

gods of the king.[12] In late magical texts they are often found in co-operation, for example, Horus is represented as having come to the aid of his uncle Set, who was poisoned, and he healed him by his magic and care.[13] In a hymn to the Aten, the two gods are represented as speaking in unison ;[14] and historical texts bear witness to their close association, as, for example, in a text of Thutmose I, where a reference is made to the " ruler of the portions of Horus and Set ".[15]

The two Egypts, Upper and Lower, may have given rise to the general dual pattern of things in ancient Egypt, especially the tendency to couple divine beings, as Kees has clearly shown in his work on Horus and Set.[16] At any rate, the two great ancient gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, at first friends, then mortal enemies, Set and Horus, answered to this dual pattern throughout Egyptian religious history. They were " the two gods " (PT 273c),[17] " the

[9] E.g. Gauthier-Jéquier Fouilles de Licht, p. 37, fig. 33 ; Annales, 17 (1917) 227, and pl. 1 ; Mercer Horus, fig. 22.

[10] See Kees Horus und Seth, I, 20-2.

[11] Moret Nile, p. 127, fig. 35.

[12] Roeder, in Pauly-Wissowa, Ὧρος, p. 2441-2.

[13] E. Suys, "Le papyrus magique du Vatican", Orientalia, 3 (1934), 1, figs. 2-3.

[14] Budge Fetish, 417.

[15] BAR, II, 70.

[16] Kees Horus und Set, I, 27-38.

[17] This is also the meaning of all those passages where two falcons take the place of the two *nṯr*-signs, and *vice versa*. In late texts, especially Graeco-Roman, the term *rḥ.wi*, " the two persons ", was used as an equivalent of *nṯr.wi* or, *nb.wi*.

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two lords " (PT 6),[18] " the two Horuses " (PT 695),[19] " the two great ones ",[20] " the two brothers ",[21] " the two fighters " (PT 1963) and symbolically " the doors " (PT 518). Some texts seem to represent the two gods as if they were one,[22] that is, the god Horus-Set ;[23] and when the Egyptians spoke of the union of Horus and Set, it seems that they meant the absorbtion of one god in the person of the other, for the double name, " Horus-Set ", was a title of the king.[24] In later representations, both falcons are shown on one and the same standard.[25] The two gods, as one, Horus-Set, seem to have had a title, expressive of their identity, *tti-'ib*, " comparable of heart " (PT 26) ; and perhaps the two strokes in the sign for the royal palace, and in the determinative of the city Nḫn, referred to Horus and Set.[26] And just as the oldest royal monuments represented Horus and Set, side by side, as the symbol of the single kingship of the two kingdoms ruled by one king, so from the time of the Middle Kingdom, the kingdom was called the " domain of Horus and Set ".[27] On the other hand, there always seemed to have been a marked difference between " the messengers of Horus " and " the messengers of Set ".[28]

The result of Osiris's incursion into the Nile Valley was a

[18] Cf. Kees Horus und Seth, I, 62-5 ; II, 31. The expression is written in various ways. e.g. with two *nb*'s plus a vulture and a snake ; with two *nb*'s plus two falcons ; with two *nb*'s plus a falcon and a Set-animal ; with two falcons, each on a bracket ; etc. ; cf. also Newberry, AAA, V (1913), 134.

[19] The two gods (*nṯr.wi*), the two lords (*nb.wi*), and the two Horuses (*ḥr.wi*), were equivalent phrases. There was a priest of the " two Horuses " as early as the Fourth Dynasty, Pirenne Histoire, p. 350. On the other hand it is possible that any or all of these three terms may have referred to Horus, as both god of Upper as well as of Lower Egypt, as he was often considered, especially after the union under Menes. But Kees calls the association of the term *nb.wi* with Horus and Set " ein unglücklicher Kompromiss " (Horus und Seth, II, 29).

[20] AZ, 47 (1910), 26 f.

[21] Lacau TR, no. LXXXVI ; cf. PT 1963 ; Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, Leipzig, 1911, Part I, 8, no. 2.

[22] Kees Horus und Seth, II, 14 ; Budge Gods, I, 194 ; II, 241-2.

[23] BD, 38 A, 5 ; LD, III, Bl. 5.

[24] PT Ut. 222 ; cf. Sethe Memph Theol, I, 36c ; cf. the representation of Horus and Set, together, face to face, Horus with the white crown and Set with the red, and Horus with the red crown and Set with the white (Quibell Arch. Obj., no. 197).

[25] Brugsch Dict., 1374.

[26] ÄZ, 64 (1929), 102 ; Sethe Urgeschichte, 188.

[27] Kees Horus und Seth, II, 32, n. 5.

[28] E.g. PT 535.

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conflict with Set. This led to the death of Osiris and enmity between Horus, as son and heir of Osiris, and Set. Thus, these hitherto friendly gods became bitter enemies, and the fight between them began. The purpose of Horus was to avenge his father (PT 575-582), which led to his determination to conquer Upper Egypt, hitherto the domain of Set. Although as son of Osiris, who had already penetrated southwards as far, at least, as Abydos, Horus felt that he had a certain claim on Upper Egypt, as heir of Osiris. Indeed, it seems that Set felt the weight of this consideration, for it was the heirship and legitimacy of the son-ship of Horus which he contested.

Egyptian literature is full of references to the fight between Horus and Set,[29] but the fullest and best preserved account is extant, in a late[30] and corrupted form, in hieroglyphics, with many pictures, carved in the time of Ptolemy Caesarion, on the walls of the splendidly preserved temple of Horus at Edfu. It was published with extensive plates by Ed. Naville, *Textes relatifs au Mythe d'Horus recueillés dans le temple d'Edfou*, Geneva, 1870.[31] The illustrations show Horus-*Bḥd.t* standing in a boat, spearing a crocodile (Set). The *meśentiw*, harpooners of Horus, are represented by an armed warrior in a boat, spearing a crocodile, and leading the way for Horus. In this myth, the bulk of the story and illustrations are late, but there are in it many ancient elements, which show how Osiris was avenged by Horus; how the kingdom of Osiris, stretching from the Mediterranean to Abydos, was transmitted to his son and heir; and how Horus, in overcoming Set, succeeded to the whole of Upper Egypt. The older elements include also the followers of Horus, the harpooners, with spears of metal, while later elements are to be seen in the club wielded by Horus and also in his double crown, as well as in the representation of Set and his followers by crocodiles and hippopotami. Set as an antelope is also late. An old element also is the victory of Horus and the defeat of Set (PT581),

[29] From the Pyramid Textes (e.g. Ut. 215, §§ 289, 306, 712, 1963) to the literature of the Graeco-Roman period, myths and religious texts are full of allusions to the fight between Horus and Set. But throughout that long period much confusion arose. Sometimes the fight is represented as having taken place between Horus the Elder and Set, then Rēᶜ and Set, then Osiris and Set, and sometimes, even as early as the Pyramid Texts, the contestants are represented as having been Horus and Thot (e.g. PT 163, 175).

[30] Not earlier than the New Kingdom, although there are numerous earlier indications of the story, see Mercer Horus, chapter III, n. 77.

[31] For further literature, see Mercer Horus, chapter III, n. 78.

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but a later element represents the complete destruction of Set. The blinding of Horus, in the fight, and the castrating of Set are ancient elements;[32] but later elements, and other myths, give fantastic accounts of the wounds inflicted upon the two warriors. Thus, Horus is said to have cut off the heads of Set and his followers, to have dragged Set about with a spear in his head and neck, to have cut his body into nine parts ; and Set is said to have cast filth in the face of Horus, to have bored his finger into the eye of Horus, and to have torn out both eyes, which were then restored by Hathor. Late also is the account of how Horus cut off the head of his mother, Isis, which was restored by Thot, in the form of a cow's head ;[33] as well as that of how Isis cut off the hands of Horus (BD, chapter 113), or, according to another account, only one hand. Pictures representing Set as an ass being stabbed or clubbed to death are also late, as is also the story in Pap Sallier IV to the effect that Horus and Set fought in the form of two bears. But the account in Contendings of how Set tried to pollute Horus is probably old.[34] An ancient element, too, is the account of the reward supposed to have been given to the *meśentiw*, namely, special cities, as a recompense for their help and loyalty to Horus ; but the account of the transformation of Set into a hissing serpent, or of his being banished from Egypt is, no doubt, late. According to Diodorus the final struggle between Horus and Set took place at Antaeopolis (modern Qâw),[35] but this, like all names of localities in the legends of the fight, is late and is not likely to correspond with any reality. Indeed, the legends, as we have them, are the result of hundreds of years of telling and retelling, of copying and recopying, and of numerous interpretations, with many varying tendencies.

It is and has been held by many students of Egyptian religion, including Plutarch himself, that the legend of the fight between Horus and Set is really a very primitive myth dealing with some

[32] PT 418, 594 ; Contendings, pl. X, 3-4.

[33] Sallier, IV, 2, 6-35. Cf. N. Reich, "Der Mythus vom Kampfe des Horus mit Set im Papyrus Sallier IV (II, 6-III, 6) ", RT, 30 (1908), 210. Reich contends that a correct reading shows that Isis was not equally friendly with Seth and Horus.

[34] Budge Fetish, p. 452 ; cf. Griffith, *The Petrie Papyri : Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, London, 1898, text, p. 4.

[35] Cf. Gauthier, RT, 35 (1913), 13 f., 24 f. The fight is also said to have taken place at *Ḫri-ʿḥ3* (PT 1350), and on the west side of the district of *Mnmn.t* (Kees Horus und Seth, II 47, n. 1).

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phenomenon of nature, such as the conflict between light and darkness, between day and night. Horus was the god of heaven, whose two eyes were the sun and moon. The tearing out of the eye of Horus was the setting of the sun ; or the moon was the eye of Horus which was eaten by a demon. The fight took place in the sky where Set and the seven stars of the Great Bear attacked Horus and the sun-god. Or, Horus was the sky-god of light and Set the sky-god of storm and bad-weather. Or, Set was the barren red desert, the stormy, drought-bearing wind, and Horus was the black, rich soil of Egypt ; Set was below, Horus was above ; Set was left, Horus was right. Out of all such ideas followed the belief that Set represented evil and finally falsehood, as opposed to goodness and truth. It does not seem so certain, as Breasted would have it, " that the feud between Horus and Set was originally a solar incident, and quite independent of the Osiris myth ".[36] Indeed, the opposite seems to be true, namely, that the symbolical interpretation is too abstract for very primitive minds, and was a later reading of the prehistoric struggle which went on between the two halves of the country, which came to be called Upper and Lower Egypt. The story of the feud seems to grow most naturally out of the details of the myth of Osiris and the possible political conditions of prehistoric Egypt, as outlined in the preceding chapters of this book.

The struggle between Horus and Set was made a legal contest almost certainly in prehistoric times. In the *Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie* of the Thinite period there are numerous references to it as such ; in the Pyramid Texts it is referred to very often ; and it forms a large part of *The Contendings of Horus and Set*, in the Chester Beatty Papyrus, No. 1, of the Rameside period, but which has as an historical background the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.[37] The law-suit grew out of an attack by Set on his brother Osiris (PT 956-960) in which Osiris was slain. The original point disputed, therefore, would seem to have been Set's claim to succeed to the territories of his brother, Osiris, namely, to Lower Egypt

[36] Breasted Development, 40.

[37] See above chapter II, for an outline of the Contendings ; cf. also Spiegel, *Die Erzählung vom Streite des Horus und Seth*, Glückstadt-Hamburg, 1937, p. 71 ; Budge Fetish, 444 ff. There is evidence that the Contendings, like the Pyramid Texts, is also a composite work. For example, two discordant views of the relationship of Horus and Set are found in the same passage ; according to one, Set was brother of Horus, but according to the other, he was brother of Osiris, and, therefore, uncle of Horus (4, 7-8).

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as well as to that part of his own Upper Egypt, which Osiris had taken from him. This is the subject of the dispute as it appears in the earlier texts. On the other hand, Plutarch (IO, 54)[38] makes the contest deal with the question of the legitimacy of Horus, who was said to have been posthumously born. The two questions are closely related, the second, no doubt, growing out of the first, due to stories about the nature of the conception and birth of Horus, which subject we have already discussed in chapter IV. On the death of Osiris, Horus naturally claimed the succession, indeed, according to tradition, Osiris set his son on the throne of Geb (i.e. on his own throne).[39] In the long conflict, in which Horus finally avenged his father (PT 575-582),[40] Horus lost an eye (e.g. PT 418), but Set was disasterously defeated and punished by being obliged to carry Osiris on his back (e.g. PT 651-2, 1543-49), or by being bound hand and foot (PT 1035), or by being slaughtered and cut up, as an ox, as food for the gods (PT Ut. 580) ; or by being cut in three pieces and delivered to Osiris (PT Ut. 543) ; or by being poisoned.[41] In this conflict, Thot intervened between the two combatants,[42] but received a wound in his arm, which, however, he healed, as well as the wounds received by Horus and Set.[43] Set then entered the tribunal of the gods at Heliopolis[44] and lodged with them charges against Osiris (that is, against Horus).[45] The tribunal was that of the two divine enneads, but Geb is usually represented as having been the judge,[46] although according to some later accounts Rēᶜ seems to have acted as judge, or as a kind of umpire,[47] and according to others Thot acted in the same capacity.[48] In a hymn to Amūn-Rēᶜ, Amūn is addressed as "judge of Horus and Set in the Great Hall".[49] During the legal proceedings,

[38] Cf. also Lacau TR, no. XVII ; cf. Plutarch IO, 19.

[39] Budge Legends, The Legend of the Origin of Horus, 96 ff.

[40] Often symbolically represented in the form of a falcon perched on the back of a Set-animal, and in the expression, "Horus over the Ombite" (cf. Moret Nile, 51).

[41] Pap I 349, Leiden, rev. 9-10 (Leemans, *Aegyptische Monumenten*, II, Leyden, 1846) ; Suys, "Le Papyrus magique du Vatican", *Orientalia*, III (1934), 67-8.

[42] Moret Nile, 70.

[43] BD (Naville), chapter 102, 7-8 ; cf. PT 535.

[44] See Sethe Urgeschichte, 105.

[45] PT 956-60.

[46] Sethe Memph Theol, Aa, Ab, 12a, 10b, 11b, 12b.

[47] Pap Sallier, IV, 9, 7 ; Rochem, II, 13 ; cf. Contendings, 2, 1.

[48] Annales, 30 (1930), 72.

[49] See Budge Fetish, 412.

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Thot and Onuris supported Horus, but Rēᶜ contended for Set and was unwilling to admit the claims of Horus.[50] According to the *Contendings of Horus and Set*, various deities made different suggestions. Thus, the goddess Neit recommended that the office of Osiris be given to Horus, but that Set should be established in his possessions (perhaps, Upper Egypt) and that the goddesses Ānat and Astarte (Semitic deities) be given to him (3, 2-5) ; Rēᶜ-Harachte and Atum said to the ennead, " Ye shall set the white crown (Upper Egypt) upon the head of Horus, son of Isis " (8, 4) ; and Osiris himself recommended that Horus be named his successor and that Set be given a position in the sky, where he could act as the god of thunder (Budge Fetish, 24). Finally, according to the same text, the ennead decided in favour of Horus and against Set (13, 1-2). Thus, Osiris, as the Pyramid Texts reveal, was justified (PT 1556), the gods rejoiced (PT 1522-3), and according to the early theology of Memphis, Geb gave all Egypt to Horus.[51] The Rameside text found in Pap Sallier (IV, 9, 5-6) preserves this tradition and adds the statement that to Set was given the desert ; and the Book of the Dead (Naville), chapter 186, 10-13 says that heaven also, as well as the Two Lands, were given to Horus. The late text in the temple of Edfu even represents Rēᶜ as giving to Horus Upper as well as Lower Egypt (Rochem, II, 13) ; but another text has it that Horus and Set divided the country between them by agreement.[52] An unusual Abydos version of the decision says that Geb gave two-thirds of Egypt and the Red Land (i.e. the desert) to Osiris (i.e. Horus), and one-third of Egypt to the children of Nut (i.e. Set, one of the children of Geb and Nut).[53] This statement is appropriate as representing Abydos, for according to my reconstruction, above, of the political history of prehistoric Egypt, Osiris conquered as far south as Abydos, adding one-third of Egypt to his Delta (one-third), leaving Upper Egypt (one-third) to Set. Finally, in a hymn to Osiris, it is said, " Thy son Horus is triumphant before the whole company of the gods . . . gods celestial and gods terrestrial have devoted themselves to the service of thy son Horus."[54]

According to native Egyptian texts there exist two opposite ideas as to the parts of Egypt assigned to Horus and Set, and this

[50] Contendings, *passim*, especially 3, 8 ; 4, 6 ; 2, 1.
[51] Sethe Memph Theol, 10c-12c, 13a-18a.
[52] Brugsch Dict., 118.
[53] Lacau TR, no. CXCIX.
[54] Budge Fetish, 426-7.

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opposition occurs even in one and the same text. Thus, in the myth, as it is found on the walls of the temple of Horus at Edfu, in one place the portion of Horus is said to have been Upper Egypt and that of Set Lower Egypt, in the other the portion of Horus is said to have been Lower Egypt and that of Set Upper Egypt.[55] Among modern interpreters of ancient Egyptian religion the same opposition in ideas has prevailed. For example, Lepsius looked upon Horus as the protective god of the South and Set of the North. Pleyte and Brugsch held the opposite to be true. In our own day Sethe assigns Horus to the North, while Kees assigns him to the South. Beginning with Petrie, Meyer, and Junker, what seems to have been the true state of affairs, in this respect, in ancient Egypt, gradually became more evident day by day, namely, that Horus from the earliest times was patron of Lower Egypt and Set patron of Upper Egypt. This was the general view in ancient Egypt, although the opposite was sometimes held, as we shall see, during one or two exceptional periods. The close association of Horus with the South, in the minds of many ancient Egyptians, is easy to understand, if we accept the view set forth in a previous chapter of this book that the followers of Horus entered Egypt from the east via the Wâdi Ḥammâmât, and sojourned in southern Egypt, during an indefinite period before making their way northwards to the Delta. The memory of this experience associated Horus more or less closely with Upper Egypt. In addition to that, the conquest of Upper Egypt by Horus and his followers, which resulted in a Union of Egypt, long before that accomplsihed by Menes, was an additional cause of the association of Horus and Upper Egypt, for Horus kings reigned there before Menes, and Menes himself was a Horus king. Moreover, practically all dynastic sovereigns were Horus rulers. Finally, the great majority of Egyptian myths and legends, from first to last associate Horus with the Delta and with the Osirian family of the North. This was a constant tradition among the Egyptians of all periods.

The earliest and most extensive Egyptian texts, which are extant, the Pyramid Texts, bear witness to Horus's normal association with Lower Egypt, and that of Set with Upper Egypt.[56] The early and famous text *Ein Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie* also

[55] Mythe d'Horus, pl. 22, 32 f. ; pl. 24, 91-2.

[56] Especially Ut. 222 ; cf. Petrie-Quibell NB, pls. 77-8 ; PT 141, 370b, 480, 487, 960, 2038.

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assigns Horus to Lower Egypt and Set to Upper Egypt.[57] In a scene of the Union of the Two Lands, from the time of Sesostris I of the Twelfth Dynasty, from Lisht, Horus seizes the plant of the North while Set seizes that of the South.[58] In a coronation scene in the temple of Deir el-Bahari, Horus represents Lower Egypt and Set Upper Egypt.[59] These and other evidence,[60] down to the purification scenes of Graeco-Roman times,[61] make Horus almost always to stand for the North and Set for the South. Indeed, the exceptions are most likely misunderstandings, or errors, which Sethe has already declared them to be.[62] On the other hand, fairly legitimate reasons may be proposed for most of these exceptions. Thus, the association of Set with Lower Egypt (and, by simple contrast, Horus with Upper Egypt) of Pap Sallier IV, 9, 7-9, is natural in view of the fact that this document is a Rameside one, when the cult of Set was prominent in the eastern Delta.[63] The same is true of the throne scene at the Ramesseum, where Set represents Lower Egypt,[64] as well as of the passages in the *Contendings of Horus and Set*, also of the Rameside period, where Horus is given the white crown of Upper Egypt.[65] In the many passages in which Horus is associated with the white crown,[66] it is no doubt as the patron of almost all historic kings of South as well as North, that is, of United Egypt, that he is so represented. Wherever the contrast occurs in these passages, Set is naturally associated with the red crown of Lower Egypt.[67] Finally, although the association of Horus

[57] Sethe Dram Texte, I, 10b-12b ; cf. Erman Memph Theol, 925 ff.

[58] Gauthier-Jéquier, *Fouilles de Licht*, Le Caire, 1902, figs. 33-7.

[59] Naville Deir el-Bahari, III, pl. 64.

[60] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 91.

[61] Cf. Kees Horus und Seth, I, 29.

[62] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 91. This is apparently true of the scene at Dendera of the time of Mentuhotep III of the Eleventh Dynasty, which seems to associate Horus with Upper Egypt and Set with Lower Egypt, although the representation is fragmentary and rather uncertain. Cf. Kees Horus und Set, I, 8.

[63] It is interesting to note that as early as the Fifth Dynasty Set was associated with the East, and, in contrast, Horus seems to have represented the West (Borch Sahurēᶜ, II, pl. 5).

[64] Kees Horus und Seth, I, 14, n. 3.

[65] Contendings, Recto, pl. I, 8 ; VIII, 4 ; XV, 13.

[66] See Abubakr, *Untersuchungen über die aegyptischen Kronen*, Glückstadt-Hamburg, 1937, 34-57.

[67] E.g. Pap Sallier, IV, 9, 8 ; Nelson Med Habu, pl. 48, 8.

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with Upper Egypt persisted down to the very end of Egyptian history,[68] the normal tradition from first to last—whenever it was necessary or appropriate to make a contrast—always represented Horus as god of Lower Egypt and Set as god of Upper Egypt. There is a sense in which both Horus and Set were Upper Egyptian gods, for, in the first place, Horus and his followers, as we have already seen, passed through Upper Egypt long before they reached the Delta, and, secondly, after both the Second and the Third (and last) Union of Egypt, Horus was national god of the South as well as of the North.[69] But when Horus and his followers conquered Set and his followers of Upper Egypt, a confusion arose between the two gods and their titles which was enduring. The fact of the matter seems to be that after the Union, Horus became god of Upper as well as of Lower Egypt, which accounts for the fact that he was so often represented wearing the double crown, and at Abu Simbel, in a representation of Rameses II, the two gods appear, Horus wearing the double crown, and Set with no crown.[70]

As early as the First Dynasty there occurs a phrase, which in the light of its later use, may even then have expressed the idea of the victory of Horus over Set. It is the phrase *Ḥr-nb*,[71] which was used as a royal title as early as the time of Zoser, first king of the Third Dynasty, and became common from the time of the Fourth Dynasty.[72] Now just as the ensign of the IIIrd Lower Egyptian nome, *Ḥr-'imn.ti*, signified the conquest by Horus of the old nome of the west, *'imn.t*, so *Ḥr-nb*, usually written *Ḥr-nb.ti*, denotes the victory of Horus over Set, the Ombite (*nb.ti*).[73] And this signification of the title persisted throughout Egyptian history and appeared on the Rosetta Stone as ἀντιπάλων ὑπέρτερος. Beginning with the Twelfth Dynasty, the word *nb* was often given, in the phrase *Ḥr-nb*, its value, "gold", and the phrase was translated, "Horus of gold", or "golden Horus".[74] It was perhaps the result

[68] Plutarch IO, 19 and 55.

[69] This is not, of course, the sense in which Kees (Horus und Seth, I, 22), Blackman (ÄZ, 47 (1910), 126 f.), and Davies-Gardiner (*Tomb of Amenemhēt*, pl. 46, p. 107) understand the situation.

[70] Wilkinson, III, pl. 61.

[71] Petrie RT, I, pl. XXIX, 82-5.

[72] Cf. Drioton, *L'Egypte*, 176; Sethe Urgeschichte, 129.

[73] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 154.

[74] Cf. Sethe Rechts und Links, 239 f.; Sethe Urgeschichte, 129, 130, 154; Rochem, I, 270; LD, II, 115i; cf. however, Weill in *Chronique d'Egypte*, no. 21 1936), 28-9.

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of some confusion in thought.[75] The close relationship between the two gods finds interesting expression in the famous figure of the two gods in the form of a standing man with a double head consisting of the head of a falcon and that of the animal of Set.[76]

[75] Cf. A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Oxford, 1927, p. 73.
[76] See Lanzone Diz, pl. CCCLXXVIII, no. 2.

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CHAPTER VI

OSIRIS, THE PEOPLE'S GOD

THE most popular god of ancient Egypt was Osiris. His peaceful character, his beneficent gifts to mankind, his cruel death, and his resurrection appealed to the imagination and penetrated the affections of the people. The idea of immortality, a sentiment archaeologically traceable to prehistoric days, found a confirmation among his worshippers in his own resurrection and their faith in his immortality. Consequently, we are not surprised to find Osiris an object of adoration in all parts of ancient Egypt, and in all periods from prehistoric times to the very end of Egyptian religious history. So far as we can judge, the Osirian faith was already quite fully developed by the beginning of the historic period. If we may judge by the history of predynastic culture, there is reason to believe that Osiris and his followers came to Egypt during the early part of the Gerzean period, and all legends about Osiris, as well as modern research, connect him, from the beginning with the eastern Delta. He may have been originally a human king or chieftain who, with his followers, made his way into Egypt from Western Asia, perhaps Syria, and was afterwards deified. Compare, however, *Man* (1945), No. 38. However, whether as a human leader, or as the divine symbol of an unnamed leader and his people, Osiris was a peaceful chief of a nomadic, shepherd people, who brought a new way of life to the indigenous inhabitants of the eastern Delta. The god of these indigenous people was Set, and it was not long before the peaceful, friendly Osiris became his brother. But already in the West Delta there was a warrior god, who also perhaps came from Western Asia ; and in the northern Delta there was a goddess, Isis. All these, for a time, dwelt together in peaceful alliance—Osiris the husband of Isis, Horus their son, and Set, brother of Osiris. A third foreign element was represented by the god Rē^{c} and his followers, who may have come from the islands of the Mediterranean, and perhaps ultimately from as far away as the Caucasus. These were a highly cultured people, who penetrated the Delta and settled at its apex. Meanwhile, the nomadic people of Osiris passed beyond the southern boundary of the Delta, and settled as far south as

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Abydos. This was an unintentional, but none the less real, challenge to Set. Set attacked, defeated Osiris and his followers, and killed his brother. But Osiris rose from the dead and became forever judge and ruler of the dead and an assurance, in time, of a universal resurrection and immortality.

The sources of our knowledge of Egyptian religion have already been described in general in chapter I. In particular a few additional points must be noted here in respect to Osiris. Although no surviving monument[1] earlier than the Fifth Dynasty actually mentions Osiris, he and his characteristics, life, and activities are so common in the Pyramid Texts that no doubt about his previous importance exists. Indeed, as we have already had occasion to remark, there is no doubt but that a large part of the contents of the Pyramid Texts represents periods, in some cases, hundreds of years before the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. Even in the Pyramid Texts there is no complete account of Osiris. However, what we learn from them is in detail so much like his legend transmitted to us in Plutarch's *De Iside et Oriside* that we can assume that the facts of his religion remained substantially the same from beginning to end. Indeed, the numerous monuments and papyri, of all ages since the Pyramid Texts, containing fragments of legends, many hymns, litanies, prayers, and historical inscriptions, all confirm this assumption, and add to our knowledge of Osiris and his religion. While a large part of our knowledge of Osiris is based upon Plutarch and the Pyramid Texts, numerous other details have been collected

[1] However, the text now known as *Ein Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie*, although surviving only in a monument of the reign of Shabaka of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, has been shown by Sethe (Sethe Memph Theol) to have been copied from an original of the Thinite period. This text mentions Osiris four times (16c, 19, 62, 64) by name, and refers to him several times besides. This is just as we should expect. It may be also that what appears to be *wn* on cylinder inscriptions of the predynastic period, or of the First Dynasty (AE, 1914, II, 72, no. 45), may stand for *wn-nfr* and refer to Osiris. Moreover, on an ebony plaque, now in the British Museum, No. 32650 (Petrie RT, I, pl. 15, no. 16), there is a scene, which seems to be from the reign of Usaphais (that is, *wdi-mu*, whose Horus name was *dn*), fifth king of the First Dynasty, and which appears to represent the king, wearing the double crown, performing a ceremonial dance in the presence of a deity, who can be none other than Osiris, who is seated in a shrine at the top of a flight of steps, which recalls a New Kingdom title of Osiris, namely, " the god on the top of the steps ". It has been reported that recent (1944) excavations by Zaki Saad Effendi, in a tomb at Helouan of the First Dynasty, have brought to light emblems of Osiris and Isis in ivory. (Cf. Drioton, *L'Egypte*, second ed., Paris, 1946, p. 637.)

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not only from native Egyptian literature, but also from a number of classical writers, such as Herodotus, Diodorus, and others.

The oldest and most usual form of the name Osiris consisted, in hieroglyphic, of a seat or throne written above a human eye. As it is also written phonetically, it is clear that it was pronounced *wśir*. It is found in Coptic as ⲟⲣⲥⲓⲣⲓ, in Greek as *Ὄσιρις*, and in Aramaic as אוסרי (where א is not a consonant, as can be seen from פטוסיר, Greek *πετοσῖρις*). The ⲟⲣ in Coptic is the equivalent of *w* in Egyptian, as is also the *O* in Greek, for *wn-nfrw* is rendered in Greek by *Ὀννῶφρις*. But the meaning of *wśir* is not so clear.[2] Plutarch understood it to mean "many eyes"; Jablonski, "to do much"; Brugsch, "die Macht, die Kraft des Augapfels"; Budge, "he makes a seat", "seat maker". It may be translated, "to make a throne", "to create a throne", or "to prepare a throne", in reference, perhaps to his establishment as a leader or king. To the Greeks he was Dionysos, or Bacchus.

According to the theological system of Heliopolis, Osiris was born on the first of the five epagomenal, or intercalary, days, and a Theban inscription of the Greek period gives Thebes as his place of birth.[3] The earliest abode of Osiris in Egypt would seem to have been a place called *Ḏd.w*, in the eastern Delta, a town called by the name of the ensign of the god, *ḏd*. In reality the time and place of the birth of the deity were never known. Most modern Egyptologists look to the Semitic world for the origin of Osiris. The

[2] Erman, "Zum Namen des Osiris", ÄZ, 46 (1910), 92-5. The name Osiris has been compared by various scholars with that of Marduk as well as with that of Ashur (e.g. S. Smith, "Marduk, Ashur, and Osiris", JEA, 8 (1922), 41-4; Mercer, ER, 3 (1935), 158-9). As in the case of Osiris, so with Marduk, the name, in cuneiform, is written with two signs, a seat or throne and an eye (REC, 387; 238 and 358). The same is found in a later script, in CT 24, 42.96, as ^{d}Amar-ud = ^{ilu}Marduk. However, while in cuneiform *amar-ud* means "youth of the sun", or perhaps "young sun", *wśir* in hieroglyphic can bear no such meaning. Osiris was not primarily a sun-god, but he was a vegetation deity, as was also Marduk, and both of the gods seem to have come from Syria. Beyond that no closer relationship between the two deities can be established at the present time. As for Ashur: In the early pantheon of Babylonia, a title of Marduk was Asar (Nikolsky, Doc, 23 Rev. 1) or ^{d}Asarri (Gudea, Cyl. B. IV, 1). Philologically, Asar (Asarri) and *wśir* seem to be related; cf. the Aramaic form אסר of Osiris. It also seems to be related to Asur. Now, Ashur (Asur) in a winged disc is usually seen hovering over a peculiar tree, which seems to have had metal bands around certain parts of its trunk, and was called the אשר, a form of the cedar tree. This reminds one of the *ḏd* of Osiris, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

[3] Sethe Urgeschichte, 101, n. 2.

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standard Heliopolitan tradition makes Osiris the first-born[4] son of the earth-god Geb and the sky-goddess Nut, the brother of Set and Isis, the husband[5] of Isis and father of Horus. As first-born, he was the heir of Geb and so became the successor of the earth-god and leader of the lands. According to the *Contendings*, he was in one place "son of Ptah" (1, 2-3) and in another "son of Rēᶜ" (14, 10), but under the New Kingdom he was believed to have been begotten by the ram-headed god Amūn, that is, the worshippers of most great gods claimed Osiris, the people's god, as in some way their own. The faithful wife of Osiris was Isis, who is said to have been impregnated by Osiris after his death (PT 632, 1636),[6] and their only son was Horus, who later was Harpocrates. The four sons of Horus were often called the four sons of Osiris—no doubt, by confusion.[7] To Egyptians of all periods, Osiris was the ideal father, Isis the faithful wife, and Horus the dutiful son.

Osiris is usually represented as having been assassinated by Set, his brother, who threw him upon his side (PT 972, 1256). Isis found him upon the shore of Nedit (PT 1008), where he was slain (PT 819, 1256), on the farther side of the land of Gehesti (PT 972). Now, Nedit was considered near Abydos as early as the Pyramid Texts (754). The introduction of the Syrian Byblos into the story of Osiris is not earlier than the time of *The Tale of Two Brothers*, about the thirteenth century B.C. According to Manetho, the murder of Osiris took place in the twenty-eighth year of his reign as king of Egypt. In a document of the Pyramid age a tradition is preserved to the effect that Osiris was drowned in his new water (i.e. the inundation of the Nile),[8] and another text of the same age locates the drowning near Memphis, for Isis and Nephthys are said to have seen it.[9] A Denderah text says that the

[4] A confusion in an early text makes Horus the first-born of Geb (Erman Memph Theol, 17a ; contrast 11c-12c). Perhaps the author meant to distinguish between Horus the Elder and Horus son of Osiris. In any case, he was confused as to who was the first-born son of Geb. Confusion and contradiction are both common in Egyptian literature.

[5] Generalities in hymns made him husband also of his other sister, Nephthys (cf., for example, *The Laments of Isis and Nephthys*, Budge Fetish, 521-4).

[6] Cf. Bib. Nat. No. 20, 15-16. At Abydos and Philae the incident is graphically depicted in relief on the walls.

[7] See Budge Fetish, 190, 226.

[8] Br. Mus. Stela, No. 797, 19 and 62.

[9] Erman Memph Theol, 15c-19 ; cf. Sethe Memph Theol, I, 37 f. The word used, *pśś.t-tȝ.wi*, means the place of "the dividing of the two lands", i.e. Sw, near Memphis.

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body of Osiris was divided into sixteen parts,[10] but Herodotus (chapter 18) says fourteen. They are supposed to have been : head, feet, bones, arms, heart, interior, tongue, eyes, fists, fingers, back, ears, loins, and body. Some Egyptian lists add : face and hair. Isis had them buried in fourteen different places.[11] The two sisters, Isis and Nephthys, are said to have embalmed Osiris (PT 1257), or according to a later account Anubis embalmed the god.[12] Then a sycamore grew up and enveloped the body.[13] As Osiris was slain before the birth of Horus, the funeral duty to his father was performed by Geb, assisted by Anubis and Thot, according to another account the burial was arranged by Rēᶜ. The place of burial (inconsistent with the story about the fourteen different places of burial, above) was thought to have been under the *pḳr*-tree at Abydos,[14] although the ancient Memphite tradition would have it at or near Memphis,[15] while the Heliopolitan tradition seems to place it at Heliopolis.[16]

The most important tenet of the religion of Osiris was the belief in his resurrection.[17] A whole section of the Pyramid Texts (1976-82) is devoted to the subject, and there are many references to it in other parts (e.g. 572, 617, 634, 1299, 2092, 2201-2).[18] Just as Abydos was considered to have been the scene of the death of Osiris, so it was the spot where his resurrection took place. The resurrection of Osiris was effected by Thot, " lord of divine words ", Isis, who made use of the words supplied to her by Thot, and Horus, who performed symbolic ceremonies.[19] The ascription to Rēᶜ of

[10] Dum Geogr. Inschr, II, pls. 1 ff. The texts do not indicate where the dismemberment took place.

[11] Budge Legends, 224, no. 2.

[12] Steindorff, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reiches*, Berlin, II (1901), 17.

[13] PT 1485-7 ; cf. the story of the erica in Plutarch ; Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London, 1907, 339-40. There is no trace in Egyptian sources of Plutarch's account of the chest in which Osiris was put.

[14] Schaefer, ÄZ, 41 (1904), 107-10 ; Sethe Urgeschichte, 100, 182.

[15] Erman Memph Theol, 20b-22.

[16] Sethe Urgeschichte, 100A ; PT 181a.

[17] See Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, Vols. I-II, London, 1911.

[18] PT Ut. 482 is a shorter redaction.

[19] Cf. RT, 39 (1920), 49. Sometimes it was thought to have been Horus alone who joined again the limbs of the dead god (PT 617, 634). Then again he was thought to have found his father as embalmed (by Isis and Anubis) (PT 2201-2). According to PT Ut. 450, it was the goddess Nut who gave him back his head, and presented his bones to him, and collected the flesh which had been sliced off him, and brought back his heart and placed it in his body.

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the agency of the resurrection of Osiris (PT 721) was no doubt a theological device for correlating the solar and Osirian doctrines. According to this belief, Rēᶜ sent down the jackal-headed god Anubis, who, aided by Isis, Nephthys, Thot, and Horus, pieced together the broken body of the god. Osiris was thus revived, began his reign as king[20] over the dead in the underworld, and became " Ruler of the Dead ", " Lord of the Underworld ", " Lord of Eternity ". His resurrection was believed to have been a physical one (PT 2092), brought about by the power of magic. The resurrection of Osiris was commemorated annually at Abydos by a solemn festival, during which, in a sort of miracle play, every step in the process was acted by priests and acolytes.

In a well-known hymn to Osiris,[21] which really contains a summary of his history, several of his more important titles are mentioned. Therein he is called " King of the Gods ", " Heir of Geb ", " Lord of Eternity ". These titles occur often in Egyptian literature. It is also said in the same hymn that " he established right throughout the Two Lands ", an oft-occurring assertion, which shows how natural it was for the ancient Egyptians to regard him as a god of righteousness and justice. Indeed, one of his commonest titles was Wnnefer (*wn-nfr*), " the good being ", or " he who makes good to appear ". As god of fertility he bore the title, " great of abundance, lord of plenty " (*Contendings*, 14, 10 ; 15, 10). Perhaps on account of his association with Rēᶜ, he was often called " Lord of Heaven ",[22] it was, however, as " Guide of the Dwat " that he was most universally known.[23] But perhaps the most famous of all of his many titles was " Khenti-Imentiw, Lord of Abydos ".[24]

Osiris and his followers most likely came, as we shall see, from some part of Western Asia, probably Syria. If that be so, it is easy to understand the persistent Egyptian tradition which always connected Osiris with the idea of vegetation. This is especially true in view of the consideration that, no doubt, for many years before he and his people reached Egypt they had lived a nomadic life, passing from one oasis to another. At last they reached the rich lands of the Egyptian Delta. It was, these people believed,

[20] PT 961 ; cf. PT 219, 609-21.
[21] Budge Fetish, 420-4.
[22] E.g. Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 188.
[23] Budge Fetish, 425.
[24] E.g. Mar Ab, II, pl. 25.

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Osiris, their leader, their king, who brought them to these rich lands. He became for them the symbol, even the creator, of vegetation. He became the god of all that grew—of all life. And so our earliest texts represent Osiris as having been intimately associated with vegetable life (PT 699, 1019, 1524), and as such he always remained, as classical and Coptic writings prove.[25] Like another god, hailing from Syria, Adonis of Byblos, Osiris was also a vegetation-god, who taught his people agriculture, when they had settled in Egypt, and had ceased to be nomads. Thus he was then, before all else, a vegetation-god, and as such he was often represented with face and hands coloured green, for it was through him that the earth waxed green.[26] As a vegetation-god, it is not surprising to find in Egyptian literature explicit statements to the effect that "Osiris made the corn".[27] So he was a corn-god.[28] He made barley, spelt, wheat, grain.[29] It is not strange, therefore, to find that the Egyptians frequently represented Osiris with grain sprouting

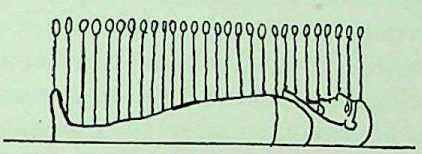

Fig. 20
OSIRIS AS A CORN-GOD

from his prostrate body,[30] or with a tree growing out of his coffin. They also made effigies of him, in the form of a mummy, moulded out of bruised corn, which they buried with the dead to insure his resurrection, or in the field to insure a good crop.[31]

[25] Diod., I, 13 ff.; Plutarch IO, 13, 1; Burmester, in *Orientalia*, N.S. 7 (1938), 355 ff.

[26] *A Hymn to Osiris*, Budge Fetish, 424.

[27] E.g. *Contendings*, 14, 12; cf. Blackman, "Osiris as the Maker of Corn", *Analecta Orientalia*, 17, 1938.

[28] Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, chapter V, § 1.

[29] Cf. Davies-Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt*, London, 1915, 115; *Contendings*, 14, 12; *Orientalia*, N.S. 7 (1938), 357; and as late as the Fourth Century A.D., Julius Firmicus reports a saying to the effect that the seed of Osiris is grain, just as Isis is the earth, and Typhon (Set) is heat (in his *de Errore Profanarum Religionum*).

[30] In a tomb at Thebes of the time of Amenophis II; cf. Erman Religion, 40, fig. 29; also to be seen in the temple of Isis at Philae.

[31] Cf. Breasted Development, 23; Frazer AAO, 90 ff.

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Osiris was not only "lord of the green fields" (PT 700), but also lord of the overflowing wine (PT 1524; cf. 1065, 1194-5), and a bronze statue of the Ptolemaic period represents him with grapes and a vine-shoot.[32] He was so closely associated with a tree-symbol, from the beginning,[33] that he may almost be called a tree-god, for he was perhaps worshipped as such.[34] Indeed, he was, in a way, their spirit, their sap, the power by which they became green. Osiris was so thoroughly a vegetation-, corn-, and tree-god, that it naturally followed that men worshipped him as an earth-, and water-god. As son of Geb, he was, as a matter of course, an earth-god, and as such he is often referred to,[35] the ever-waning and reviving life of the earth.

The mental atmosphere which made Osiris a vegetation-god and an earth-god, was the same which made him a water-god,[36] in general, and in particular a Nile-god, especially in respect to the Nile's inundations.[37] But it was water as a fertilizing agent with which Osiris was primarily associated.[38] Egyptian religious literature is full of references to Osiris as the Nile,[39] so much so that he was identified with Ḥapi, the Nile itself personified as a god. It was especially the Nile's inundation and moisture which gave expression to the life-giving power of Osiris. Thus, the Nile

[32] Baillet, "Osiris-Bacchus", ÄZ, 13 (1878), 106.

[33] See, below, the paragraph on the *ḏd*.

[34] Cf. PT 1485; Plutarch IO, 15, 20; apparently the erica-tree, that is the cedar, cf. Sethe, "Osiris und die Zeder von Byblos", ÄZ, 47 (1910), 71-3. This erica (Plutarch's ἐρείκη), cedar, or Sycamore tree is said to enclose or "enfold Osiris" (PT 1485) just as did the pillar in the palace of the king of Byblos (according to Plutarch). See also I. Frank-Kamenetzki, "Über die Wasser- und Baumnatur des Osiris", ARW, 24 (1927), 234-43; also the section on tree-worship, below, in chapter XIII.

[35] Cf. ÄZ, 28 (1900), 30-33; in contrast to Osiris as the Nile, Isis was often represented as the earth, ground, or soil which the inundations of the Nile fertilized. In the same classification, Set represented the desert, or the destructive sea.

[36] PT 589, 628-9, 767, 847-8, 868, 1631, 1752; cf. Budge Fetish, 240.

[37] E.g. PT 25, 589, 767, 848, 1553, 2111, etc.

[38] E.g. PT 1018.

[39] See the above references in footnote 36; also PT 388, 507-8, 1551-4, 2063-8, 2111; Erman Memph Theol, 934; Mar Ab, II, 54, 7; Rochem, II, 48; LD, IV, 13b; Junker Abaton, 37 ff.; Plutarch, who considers Osiris either the all-fertilizing Nile, its inundation, or the moist reproductive powers of nature; Herodotus, II, 10 and 5, who uses the phrase δῶρον τοῦ ποτάμου in regard to Egypt.

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and all kinds of moisture were called the " efflux of Osiris " ;[40] and " new water " so often mentioned in connection with Osiris in the Pyramid Texts (e.g. 25, 589, 767) refers, no doubt, to the inundation and its power.[41] The idea of Osiris as a water-god was generally applied to all waters, and so he was identified not only with the Nile, its inundation, and moisture, but even with the waters of earth and sky, the seas and the oceans.[42] And yet, as we have noted above, there is a legend to the effect that Osiris met his death by drowning. Among Egyptian gods, then, Osiris was the great source of all life, embodying in himself the universal power of fecundation, even in death he was believed still to possess the power of generation.[43] Indeed, his death, like the death of nature, seems to have been the assurance of a resurrection to new life, for just as nature seems to die and to come to life again annually, so Osiris, " the still-hearted ", fertility-god, corn-god, Nile-god, died and rose again (PT Ut. 670). The good Osiris, leader and king of his people, through desert lands, into fertile regions, became to them and to their descendants the symbol of rich fertility, and like their fields, which died and rose again, so their king, Osiris, though he died did really rise again. And as he died and rose again so would all his royal successors. They would die and rise to new life as Osirises. Then with the passage of time the belief in a royal resurrection was expanded to faith in a universal resurrection to never-ending life like the immortals beyond the grave. Thus, the idea of resurrection and immortality fitted in exactly with everything of which Osiris was a symbol, and grew out of the experience and knowledge of his worshippers.

After the harvest season, the waters of the Nile recede, and the greenness of the land disappears. They seem to sink into the ground. But with the new inundations all comes to life again. In like manner did Osiris and others disappear. They died, but, like all nature, they came to life again. Only, they reappeared not in the

[40] Budge Legends, 242.

[41] Cf. Breasted Development, 18 ; Erman Memph Theol, 933-4 ; Plutarch IO, 38.

[42] PT 628-9, 847, 1631 ; RT, 39 (1920), 62 ; compare the picture of Osiris enthroned on the sea (BD, Naville, I, 136) ; and of Osiris on the sarcophagus of Seti I, " encircling the Underworld " (Bonomi and Sharpe, *Alabaster Sarcophagus of Oimeneptah I*, London, 1864, pl. 15). Though, as we have already seen, Plutarch insists that the sea was symbolized by Set (chapter 33).

[43] See above text and footnote 6. According to Herodotus, II, 48, it would seem that the phallus as a symbol of life was worshipped in Ptolemaic Egypt.

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Delta nor in the Nile Valley, but far away in the " West " (*'imn.t*), beyond the deserts, in the " Land of the Dead ", the underworld (PT 8, 961), the Dwat (*dw3.t*), away out next to the western horizon. There, at first, Osiris and the great reappeared, but by the time of the Middle Kingdom and afterwards any man, being also an Osiris, could enter and inhabit the Dwat. The Dwat then became the kingdom of Osiris (PT 8). He became " Lord of the West " (*nb 'imn.t*), the " First (or Chief) of the Westerners " (*ḫnti-'imntiw*), that is, god of the dead,[44] and Abydos, the place of his death, became the capital of the underworld.[45]

It is quite clear that originally Osiris was not a sun-god. But later, on account of his importance, his power, and popularity, the theologians of Heliopolis introduced him into their system (e.g. PT 1523, 621, 636, 1345 ; Ut. 427-435, 337),[46] and thus ascribed to him characteristics, attributes, attitudes, and deeds which primarily belonged only to a sky- or sun-god, like Rēᶜ.[47] Thenceforth, it was difficult to unscramble the mixture written on the walls of the Saḳḳâreh pyramids, so that even down to the time of Diodorus (I, 11.1) and Macrobius (I, 21.11) Osiris was often called a sun-god. And then because the moon appears and disappears (PT 732), because Osiris is said to have lived twenty-eight years, and to have been broken into fourteen pieces, and because the moon seems to be associated with the idea of humidity and fecundation, it was often thought that Osiris was a moon-god. Indeed, the idea impressed Plutarch (chapters 34, 36-39, 41-42), and was no doubt an old one, as one may judge by the phrase *wśir 'iᶜḥ*, " Osiris the moon ",[48] but it, like the other idea, was due to confusion. Osiris was a vegetation-god, first and foremost,

[44] Whether before or (most likely) after the time of Osiris, there were other gods of the dead at Abydos and Memphis. These lost their identity and were absorbed by Osiris, who became " god of the dead " *par excellence*.

[45] See further on this the chapter below on Death and the Future (XIX).

[46] See, for the relationship between Osiris and Rēᶜ in theological systems, chapters XVI and XVII.

[47] Brugsch Religion, 81, holds that because later the ideogram for " sun " was substituted for that for " eye ", in writing the name of Osiris, that he was originally a sun-god. But quite the opposite would be true, namely, that later when Osiris and Rēᶜ were brought into association by the theologians of Heliopolis, the name of Osiris was written as if it were the name of a sun-god. See also TSBA, IX (1893), 281-94 ; JEA, XI, 201 f. ; ÄZ, 67 (1931), 15-19 ; cf. also Denderah, IV, Taf. 64.

[48] Jacobsohn, *op. cit.*, 23. See also below in this chapter, where it appears that Osiris was identified with the moon.

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and then a god of death, resurrection, and the underworld. True, many other gods were identified with him, as we shall soon see, but he remained always and essentially the same.

The oldest symbol of Osiris was the *ḏd*. It has the appearance

Fig. 21

THE *ḏd* OF OSIRIS

of a pillar with four superimposed capitals, and has been taken to represent four pillars viewed one after the other, or a tree with lopped off branches, or the human backbone. It seems very probable that the *ḏd* represented a tree with lopped off branches, some kind of conifer,[49] whose home was certainly not Egypt, but most likely Syria, the probable home also of Osiris. If this be so, it fits in well with its early association with Osiris, for Osiris was certainly a nature god, connected especially with fertility and agriculture and also a tree-god, as we have already seen. Now, the typical tree of Syria is the cedar. This tree, or some form of it, would have been a most likely symbol of a Syrian deity. In spite of Schäfer's opinion that the *ḏd* had originally nothing to do with Osiris,[50] it seems most likely that it was actually the ensign, symbol, fetish of the tree-god Osiris.[51] Indeed, there is no good reason for doubting that it was associated with Osiris from the beginning. At Hierakonpolis as early as the Second Dynasty it is found on granite pillars in connection with the knot of Isis.[52] Now, when Osiris and his followers settled in the eastern Delta, they, like many another prehistoric clan, called the name of the place, which became their new home, after the name of the ensign or symbol of their

[49] Cf. PT 1751 ; Moret Nile, 81.

[50] H. Schäfer, " Djed-Pfeiler, Lebenszeichen, Osiris, Isis ", *Griffith Studies*, 424-31 ; cf. Chronique, No. 31 (1941), 95.

[51] Indeed, as early as the Pyramid age it seems to have been identified with Osiris, cf. Holmberg Ptah, pp. 156, 161 ff.

[52] Quibell Hierak, pl. 2, 59.

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leader or god. As the Egyptian word for town (*n.t*) is feminine, so they called their town *Ḏd.t*, the feminine form of *ḏd*, and Osiris was "lord of *Ḏd.t*". Furthermore, as the town was the "house of" a king or god, so *Ḏd.t* became the "house of Osiris", that is, *pr wśir*, or Busiris.[53]

The *ḏd*-symbol became very sacred, and finally was deified at Memphis,[54] and was identified with Ptah, becoming Ptah-Ḏd.[55] In the Pap Hunefer, it is represented with human arms and hands, which grasp the crook and flail of Osiris, and is worshipped.[56] Like other divine beings it also had its priests.[57]

The great festival of raising the *ḏd* can be traced from the First Dynasty to Roman times.[58] The raising of Osiris from the dead was commemorated by setting up the *ḏd* and placing the head of Osiris on the top of it.[59] The prototype was in Busiris; but replicas elsewhere. The *ḏd* in later times was considered a most potent talisman.

Another symbol of Osiris was a box, supposed to contain the head of Osiris, and preserved at Abydos. A serpent and two feathers, attached to the box, represent the god.

Representations of Osiris, in the form of pictures and statues, are numerous. In general, it may be said that he is most commonly represented as a bearded man, in form of a mummy, wearing the *atef*-crown, holding in his hands the crook and flail, his flesh often being coloured green or black. Sometimes the *menat* hangs from the back of his neck. There are many statues of Osiris in complete human form, crowned in various ways.[60] and he occurs often, as a statue, in groups, with Horus and Isis, with Isis and Nephthys, with Isis and Mut, and with Isis alone.[61] He also occurs as Osiris-

[53] Busiris was also known as *Ḏedw*, the city of the *ḏd*; also Mendes, another Osirian town, was called Ḏedet (cf. Moret Nile, 80). The tradition that the *ḏd* sometimes represented the god Set (see Sethe Dram Texte, II, 153-60) is not unnatural in view of Set's periodic associations with the eastern Delta.

[54] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 19; Sethe Dram Texte, II, 156; cf. PT 1485, 1285-7; Junker Onurislegende, 64 ff.; Kees, *Götterglaube*, pp. 98, 295; Holmberg Ptah, 154 ff.

[55] RT, 37 (1915), 59.

[56] BD (Budge), pp. 77, 89.

[57] Newberry, *Egypt as a Field for Anthropological Research*, Washington, 1925, 451; Mar Mast, 113.

[58] Cf. ÄZ, 47 (1910), 71 ff.; also "*Śed*-festival" in chapter XX.

[59] BD (Budge), p. clxxvi; cf. BD (Budge), chapter 155, and p. 128.

[60] Daressy Statues, 409.

[61] Daressy Statues, 415-16.

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Apis (Serapis) in the form of a man with the head of a bull,[62] and as Osiris-*ʾiᶜḥ* (Osiris as the moon) in complete human form.[63] He is sometimes figured in quite unusual ways: thus, he appears as a *ḏd*, the face looking out from between the second and third lopped

Fig. 22
OSIRIS

branches, the *ḏd* surmounted by an *ʿnḫ*, provided with two arms, which uphold a sun's disk; sometimes the *ḏd* has a human head with plumes, disk, uraei, ram's horns, and arms and hands. Osiris is often pictured sitting on a throne, crowned in various ways, and once the throne stands on the back of a great serpent, which rests on the top of a flight of steps.[64] The falcon of Horus[65] and the *bnw*-bird of Rēᶜ sometimes represented Osiris, and sometimes he was worshipped as a bull,[66] or as a lion.[67]

Osiris was so important a god that many acts and events associated with him were often connected with other deities. Indeed, vegetation-gods, vine-gods, water-gods, and all gods connected with any aspect of the dead were more or less identified with him. After his arrival in Egypt, the first god to be completely identified with Osiris was Anzti,[68] the god of a district called Anzti, in

[62] Daressy Statues, 410.
[63] Daressy Statues, 407.
[64] For many of the numerous forms which Osiris assumed, see Lanzone Diz, pls. 258-305.
[65] Plutarch IO, 51.
[66] See Apis, etc., below.
[67] E.g. AE, 1914, p. 76.
[68] Kees, *Götterglaube*, 114, indicates that Anzti was only an epithet of Osiris.

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the eastern Delta, with its capital Anzti, which later was confused with *Ḏd.w* and called also Busiris.[69] In short, Anzti, was completely absorbed by Osiris, having been a shepherd and nomadic leader like Osiris. Gradually Osiris took to himself the functions of

Fig. 23
OSIRIS AS ANZTI

Anzti, becoming Osiris-Anzti, and then simply Osiris. He assumed all the symbols of Anzti, the shepherd's crook and flail and the two head-feathers. The memory of this prehistoric identification and absorbtion can be traced throughout later Egyptian literature. For example, in PT 614 we read, " Horus has made thee to live in this thy name of Anzti ", and in a hymn to Osiris of the Eighteenth Dynasty, he is called " lord of acclamations in the nome of Anzti ".[70] As a god of fertility, the Nile-god with his inundations was at a very early period identified with Osiris. Evidence of the identification of Ḥapi with Osiris is abundant—in the Pyramid Texts as well as in hymns of the New Kingdom the two gods appear as one and the same.[71] As vegetation seemed to die and to rise again, and as Osiris was slain by Set and revivified by Horus, so Osiris became, at a period long before the rise of history, a god of the dead, of resurrection, and of the underworld. Accordingly, at Abydos, the scene of the death and resurrection of Osiris, the old mortuary god, Khenti-Imentiw, " First of the Westerners " was completely absorbed by Osiris.[72] But already Anubis the jackal-god, a god of the dead, had been identified with Khenti-Imentiw. He too was absorbed by Osiris, so that by the Twelfth Dynasty, the sole god at Abydos was Osiris, with Anubis as his agent and

[69] See Mercer Horus, chapter III, § 3.

[70] Moret Nile, 97.

[71] E.g. PT 388, 507-8, 589, 848, 868, 1551-4, 2111 ; ÄZ, 12 (1884), 38.

[72] E.g. PT 650, 759. The most primitive god of Abydos, of whom we know, was Anher.

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guardian of the cemeteries.[73] The necropolis at Memphis was presided over by the local god of the dead, Soker, who was closely associated with Ptah, head of the Memphite pantheon. Osiris, therefore, absorbed Soker, the mortuary god, and both Soker and his associate Ptah became identified with Osiris, as Ptah-Soker-Osiris.[74] In prehistoric times there was a Bull-kingdom in the West Delta. It was conquered by Horus, and when Horus and Osiris became allied, the Bull-people of the West became worshippers of Osiris. An echo of this is preserved in the Book of the Dead (chapter I, 4), where Osiris is called the "Bull of Imentet". With the passage of time a bull in general was as a rule considered an incarnation of Osiris. This was particularly true of the Apis-bull of Memphis, the Mnevis-bull of Heliopolis, and the Buchis-bull of Hermonthis. The Egyptians called Apis the son of Osiris. Some believed that after the death of the Apis[75] his soul went to heaven and was united to Osiris, becoming Osiris-Apis (*wśir-ḥp*), or Serapis. This belief was due to the attempt of the priests of Heliopolis to make Osiris an associate of Rēᶜ and a heaven-god. Osiris-worship and bull-worship were originally, of course, quite distinct, but by the Eighteenth Dynasty the worship of Osiris-Apis as one god, Osiris being incarnated in the Apis-bull, was greatly emphasized by the priests of Apis at Memphis. During the Graeco-Roman period, Serapis (Osiris-Apis) became one of the greatest of all deities.[76]

Being a vegetation-god it was natural, in view of ancient Egyptian thought, that Osiris should sooner or later have been identified with the moon-god.[77] He thus became *wśir ʾi ᶜḥ*, "Osiris the moon".[78] At the new moon in spring the Egyptians celebrated a festival called "the Entrance of Osiris into the Moon"; at a

[73] There seems to have been a close association between Khenti-Imentiw, Anubis, and the god of Lycopolis (Asyut), Wepwawet (Upuat). Wepwawet was "opener-of-roads" for the dead in the region of the west, Khenti-Imentiw was "First of the Westerners", that is of the dead; Anubis was guardian of the cemeteries, and Wepwawet was watcher and guide of the dead.

[74] Cf. Erman Religion, 26. Ptah-Soker-Osiris, as a name for Osiris, became very common in the Middle Kingdom and afterwards (cf. Cat. gén., 20322, 20100, etc.).

[75] Apis was also considered a god of the underworld, an additional reason for his identification with Osiris.

[76] Serapis as a late Egyptian god is discussed below, in chapter XXV.

[77] Cf. for comparisons, Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II, 154 ff.

[78] See Budge Osiris, I, chapter XII, and the literature referred to therein; also LD, IV, pl. 31; Mar Ab, II, pls. 54-5, 4-7.

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ceremony called " the burial of Osiris, they made a crescent-shaped chest ; and once a year at full moon pigs were sacrificed to the moon and to Osiris.[79] The new moon was the symbol of Osiris risen from the dead.[80] As a sky-god (PT 964, 968), and a close associate of Rē^{c}, with the " Imperishable Stars " as his followers (PT 749), it is not surprising to find an identification of Osiris with the constellation Orion (PT 186, 819-20, 959, etc.). One of the central theses of the Pyramid Texts was the complete identity of the dead king with Osiris (e.g. PT 1804), and at a later period every dead person was believed to have become an Osiris.

Many other deities were identified with Osiris, such as the Buck of Mendes in the Delta, and finally all other gods of the dead were assimilated by him, and he became practically everywhere the local god.[81] In Greek times Dionysos, Bacchus, and Hades were all identified with Osiris, as was also Eros,[82] who ordinarily was considered the same as Harpocrates.

The great divine associates of Osiris were Set, his brother, who became his enemy ; Horus, his son, who introduced men to him, and with whose sons, especially Horus of the East, Osiris was particularly associated ;[83] Isis, his female counterpart ; Rē^{c}, his friend and protector (BD (Budge), 181), whose characteristics he assumed (PT Ut. 306, PT 474), and into whose theological system he was introduced ; Nephthys and Thot. The minor deities who protected him or came under his influence were legion.

Although, as we have already noted, it is said that there is not so far a single reference to Osiris, in the surviving monuments of Egypt, until the Pyramid age,[84] yet details of his characteristics and work are so full and rich in the Pyramid Texts, together with the abundance of information about him in later myths and legends,

[79] Cf. Plutarch IO, 41-43 ; also Frazer, *op. cit.*, 361.

[80] BD (Budge), p. clxxiii.

[81] Cf. Budge Osiris, II, 18 ff.

[82] K. Reitzenstein, " Eros als Osiris ", *Nachr. der Gesellschaft d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1930, 396-406.

[83] Cf. Breasted Development, 155-6.

[84] Cf. A. Rusch, *Die Stellung des Osiris im Theologischen System von Heliopolis* (AO, 24, 1), p. 11, p. 15, Anm. 2 ; in view of the part played by Osiris in the Pyramid Texts, Rusch's statement, p. 11, n. 1, to the effect that Osiris may have been known as an inferior local god before the middle of the Fifth Dynasty, but certainly not otherwise, is quite unacceptable. See footnote no. 1 of this chapter, where Osiris plays a most important part in a text, which, though not now extant in its original form, nevertheless, quite clearly belongs in origin to the time of the Thinite period.

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hymns, prayers, and mortuary texts, that we feel pretty safe in reconstructing his career from prehistoric time down to the period of the Pyramid Texts. This we shall now do, with as little repetition of what has gone before as possible. But, first, a few additional remarks must be made, at this point, about Osiris himself and about his possible origin. As has been already suggested, Osiris might have been originally a human king or leader, although there is no definite evidence of this. Nevertheless, there are interesting indications of it: Among all the nome gods of the Delta, he is the only one figured in human form—that of a shepherd, with crook and flail; in later times this figure is regularly used as a determinative of the word *ʾiti*, "king", a term only applied to the living king in the Pyramid Texts; all traditions make Osiris a king, even Plutarch (IO 13), who otherwise symbolizes him; and the greatest modern authority on the earliest religious forms and ideas in ancient Egypt, K. Sethe, believes Osiris was an ancient human king.[85] But, as Sethe also believes, Osiris was a deified king,[86] and his religious importance consists largely in the fact that he was a *dead* king and a king of the dead.[87] Apart from general anthropological, archaeological, and cultural indications, already noted in this book, there are, in addition, many signs which would point to Western Asia as the original home of the followers of Osiris. We have already compared the structure and meaning of the name Osiris with those of the names Marduk and Ashur (see note 2). Further than that, it should be noted that both Osiris and Marduk were vegetation-gods and water-gods; they were both gods of the dead and of resurrection; both were sun-gods, Marduk essentially so, and Osiris through his association with Rēᶜ; both were "life-giving" gods; before both the deceased was to make the "negative confession"; and Marduk was called "the good shepherd", while one of the oldest of Osiris's symbols was the shepherd's crook. Both Osiris and Ashur were called the "good god"; both gods were believed

[85] Sethe Urgeschichte, 94; cf. also Moret Nile, 79; cf., however, *Man* (1945), No. 38.

[86] Amélineau even believed that the human Osiris was actually buried in a tomb found at Abydos. Since the time of Maspero's article (Bib. Egypt, 29, 89-100), this idea has been abandoned. If Osiris was a human being, the place of his burial is entirely unknown. As a god, he was believed to have been buried at Abydos (see the Egyptian idea of God in chapter XVIII).

[87] Cf. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 160 ff., where he shows that the custom of worshipping dead kings was not confined to Egypt. He produces many modern African analogies.

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to have died and to have come to life again ; the sacred tree of Ashur was a cedar, represented with metal bands around it, like the *ḏd* of Osiris ; and both were symbolized by the solar disk. Tammuz, another Western Asia god, also personified vegetation, water ; he died and rose again ; like Osiris, he was thought to have been a deified human king, to have married his sister ; and he was associated with the sun-god, Shamash, just as Osiris was with Rēᶜ. However, certain marked differences should be noted. Both Marduk and Ashur were heads of pantheons, not so Osiris ; both were creator-gods which was not an Osirian attribute ; in Egypt Osiris was judge of the dead, but in Babylonia it was Shamash and Nergal ; and both Marduk and Ashur were war-gods, but Osiris was a peaceful, vegetation god. Yet Syria is possible as the common origin of these Babylonian, Assyrian, and Egyptian gods, for legend connects Osiris with Byblos in Syria, the worshippers of Marduk of Babylon came from Amurru (Syria), and the earliest Assyrian names are found on tablets from the west (Syria). Furthermore, the undoubted similarities which exist between the nature and attributes of Osiris and Adonis, the vegetation-god of Byblos, point to the same origin.[88]

Whatever his ultimate origin may have been, it seems that Osiris, as a human or divine leader, entered Egypt from the east and set up his symbol, the *ḏd*. To the place where the ensign or symbol was set up he gave the name *Ḏd.t*, or *Ḏd.w*, and he himself took the title " Osiris, lord of *Ḏd.w* " (Sethe Urgeschichte, 96). But at the same place, most likely, there was already an earlier group of people, shepherds, whose home and king and god all bore the same name,[89] Anzti. Their ensign or symbol consisted of the outline of the upper half of a man, bearing in his hands a crook and flail, and having on his head two feathers. Osiris supplanted Anzti, most likely by absorption, taking to himself the office, name, and insignia of Anzti (PT 182, 614). Thus *Ḏd.t* (*Ḏd.w*) became Anzti, the house of Osiris, *pr-wśir*, which is Bursiris, the modern Abuṣîr, retaining the ensign *ḏd* together with the symbol of Anzti itself. The name Anzti gradually gave place to Bursiris and its god Osiris, with his double symbol.[90] From Busiris, the people

[88] In addition to the literature in note no. 2, see ÄZ, 45 (1909), 12-14; also AE, 1917, 117, where Petrie suggests a Libyan origin ; and JEA, 2 (1915), 207-8, where Bates suggests a Berber origin. See also JEA, 17 (1931), 221 f.

[89] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 80.

[90] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 96 ; 22 ; ÄZ, 64 (1929), 74-5.

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of Osiris spread all over the East Delta, making one confederation under one leader, Anzti, that is, Osiris (PT 614). This confederation was called the East (*'iȝb.t*),[91] as opposed to the West (*'imn.t*).[92] Meanwhile, the West had been united under Horus, and now, by peaceful understanding Osiris extended his influence all over the West[93] as well as the northern district, where a goddess, Isis of Sebennytos,[94] was the leader. The power of Osiris was peaceful and cultural. On the other hand, Horus was a war-like leader. If the peaceful character of Osiris was felt in the West Delta as well as in the East, the military leadership of Horus extended until it embraced the whole of the eastern Delta. Thus, the two halves of the Delta represented two neighbouring and friendly groups of people, with much in racial and cultural characteristics in common.[95]

The peaceful and cultural influence of Osiris found further fields for conquest, for it is a fair conjecture, in the light of all present evidence, that the beneficence of Osiris extended into Upper Egypt as far south as Abydos and its neighbourhood, especially the city Thinis (or This).[96] The whole of Lower Egypt and the northern part of Upper Egypt, as far south as Abydos, formed now one great confederacy. But while this condition was gradually taking shape, the bond between the western and eastern Delta was growing ever stronger, under the understanding leadership of Horus and Osiris. Indeed, the two parts of Lower Egypt, no doubt, became one, with the consent of Osiris and Isis, and with Ḥorus of *Bḥd.t* as king, having as his royal symbol the *bi.t* and wearing the red crown, both of which remained forever afterwards as symbols of the kingdom of Lower Egypt.[97] During all these events, Set was god and king of the kingdom of Upper Egypt.[98] It was also during this period—no doubt, a long one—that a lasting alliance was made by Osiris, Isis, and Horus, expressed, according to tradition in terms of a family relationship, Osiris, the father ; Isis, the mother ;

[91] PT 218-20 ; cf. 1833.

[92] See Mercer Horus, chapter III, § 2.

[93] Cf. Moret Nile, 86 ; Herodotus (II, 170-1), preserves a tradition apparently to the effect that the grave of Osiris was at Sais in the West Delta ; cf. also Sethe Urgeschichte, 185.

[94] PT 2188, 1268.

[95] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 76.

[96] Cf. Junker Onurislegende, 65.

[97] Sethe Urgeschichte, 81.

[98] Cf. Sethe Rechts und Links, *passim*.

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and Horus, the son ; while, in the same spirit of friendliness, Set was regarded as the brother of both Osiris and Isis, and uncle of Horus. Rēᶜ and his followers had meanwhile entered Egypt, penetrated inland, and established themselves at the apex of the Delta, at Heliopolis. They were a peaceful, and especially a highly cultured people. With the passage of time, the Delta and northern Upper Egypt, as far as Abydos, and including Rēᶜ and his people, with their city of Heliopolis, became more and more a unit, with Osiris as the central unifying element, and with the co-operation of Horus, Isis, and Rēᶜ. It was now that, perhaps, we may place the First Union of Egypt, with the central city, Heliopolis—also a compliment to Rēᶜ and his people and a bid for their loyalty—as imperial capital.[99] The king of this united Egypt was Osiris, who, according to ancient legends,[100] was son of Geb, the first king of Egypt, and who now became his successor. Osiris then united his two feathers of Busiris with the white crown of Upper Egypt, making the famous Atef-crown.[101]

These and many other things naturally aroused Set and his people in the south. Traditions about the death of Osiris at the hand of Set in the Delta, no doubt, reflect ancient events. The kingdom of Osiris was attacked by Set, and Osiris was forced back into the Delta where he was slain. Set retired to Upper Egypt to consolidate his gains, at any rate, in the whole of Upper Egypt. Then Horus, the faithful son of Osiris, assisted by his mother, Isis, set out to avenge the death of his father, whose inheritance he claimed. That is, he claimed to be king not only of the Delta, but of Upper Egypt, as far as Abydos, as well. Rēᶜ was not over-enthusiastic. Indeed, according to some accounts, for example, the *Contendings*, he definitely favoured Set in his dispute with Horus. However, many traditions (including those in which Rēᶜ is definitely on the side of Horus) preserve an account of the strife between Horus and Set which ended in a victory for Horus, militarily and legally, the result of which was the Second Union of Egypt, Lower and all of Upper Egypt, under Horus as king of the whole, in succession to his father, Osiris. Heliopolis was retained as imperial capital, with Buto as political capital in the North and Nekhen as political capital in the South. Abydos became a religious capital.

Naturally, long before the Second Union of Egypt, the original

[99] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 106 ; Pirenne Histoire, I, 58 ff.
[100] Hymn to Osiris, Erman-Blackman Literature, 140-5.
[101] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 97-8.

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leader of the worshippers of Horus had died, and had, moreover, been completely identified with the god, Horus. The successors of the original leader, began at some unknown time, to be called "Horus", that is, they were "Horus"-kings, or, as they are called in ancient Egyptian literature, "Followers (*šmśw*) of Horus". Thus, when we say that Horus became King of the united Lower and Upper Egypt, we mean that a human successor of the first leader of the worshippers of the god Horus, who was called a "Horus" (that is, a "Horus"-king) was the conqueror of a "Set"-king. This conquering "Horus"-king, a Follower of the god Horus, reigned now, in Heliopolis, over both parts of Egypt. That is why we say that, after the Second Union, Followers of Horus ruled in both Upper and Lower Egypt. The same holds true, as we shall see, of the rulers of Egypt after the Third Union, that is, Menes and his successors were Followers of Horus, reigning, at Thinis, at Memphis, at Thebes, etc., over the Two Lands, United Egypt.

In the East Delta, likewise, and also later over Egypt of the First Union, human successors of the original leader of the worshippers of Osiris ruled. The "Osiris"-king who was attacked by the "Set"-king, was, of course, a human being. But he was called "Osiris", that is, an "Osiris"-king. He was killed by the "Set"-king; but already being considered "Osiris", that is, in a sense, a manifestation of the god Osiris, and, therefore, also, in a sense, divine, death had no dominion over him, and so he rose again, or, as some legends would express it, Horus and Isis, by their magic, caused him to live again. And as tradition placed the birth of the god Osiris at Abydos, so it located the site of his resurrection

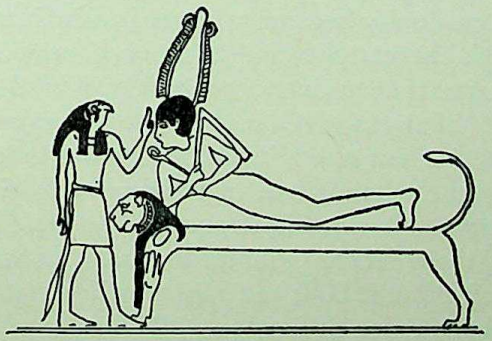

Fig. 24
RESURRECTION OF OSIRIS

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there. This was, indeed, in keeping with the site of Abydos, on the border of the western desert, and, consequently, in keeping with the character of the deities worshipped there, with whom, as we have seen, Osiris became identified. So the " Osiris "-king died, but was resurrected at Abydos as god and also as " king "— as " god of the dead ", and as " king of the dead ". Horus, in the form of " Horus "-kings reigned over Egypt in this world ; Osiris, in the form of the resurrected " Osiris "-king, that is, the god Osiris himself, now with a new attribute, namely, " god of the dead ", reigned over Egypt of the underworld, the realm of the dead. Moreover, each reigning king during his life-time was a " Horus " ; but as soon as he died he became an " Osiris ". This became an unchanging convention by the time of the Pyramid Texts. Soon after that, all dead chiefs could become identified with Osiris, and after the Eighteenth Dynasty every dead man could become an Osiris. Beginning with the Twelfth Dynasty, the ancient vegetation-god, leader and king of his people, after his death and resurrection became the generally accepted god of the dead. During the Dark Age and the Hyksos Period, from the Thirteenth to the Seventeenth Dynasty, we know comparatively little about Osiris, but the devotion of the Theban kings gave new life to the doctrine of Osiris, and he was in a popular way the head, and the most mysterious of all the gods. And that was also true of later periods, and more especially of the archaising period after about 700 B.C.

The people of Rēᶜ constituted the most intellectual element in ancient Egypt, and Rēᶜ's early importance as a god was due to the system of theology which their priests created (see below, chapter XVI). The greatest witness to the early importance of Osiris was the fact that the Pyramid Texts, containing the chief aspects of that system, gradually became saturated with Osiris's personality. Thus, the celestial hereafter of Rēᶜ had to accommodate itself to the idea of the subterranean kingdom of Osiris ; the imperishable stars became " followers of Osiris " ; the ferryman and his boat were ascribed to Osiris ; the celestial ladder was used in the interest of Osiris ; and the whole ritual of offerings was given an Osirian colouring. The result was disastrous for the logic of the theology contained in these texts. Confusion and contradiction were unavoidable (cf. PT Ut. 606, 422), especially as very little attempt was made to harmonize differences. The rôles of Osiris and Rēᶜ were confused ; Osiris was called " lord of the sky ", and the deceased were called " Osiris ". All this had a damaging effect

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upon Rēᶜ. By the Middle Kingdom Osiris had replaced Rēᶜ, and by the end of the Twelfth Dynasty the name of Osiris was everywhere in funerary monuments. The Coffin Texts represent a complete fusion of Rēᶜ as heaven-god with Osiris as lord of the Dwat, and show a confusion as great as that in the Pyramid Texts.[102] Now the king became the successor, not of *Ḥr-wr* but of Horus, son of Isis and of Osiris ; now Osiris became powerful in heaven as well as in the underworld, and Rēᶜ had to perform functions in the underworld ; and now began the great dramas of the death and resurrection of Osiris annually performed at Abydos.

The Osirian faith was a rich one, indeed, it seems that almost all the great fundamental beliefs of the religions of ancient Egypt centred in Osiris, and this faith remained generally the same from the earliest times down even unto its end as a national creed. To his worshippers, he was a vegetation-god, a water-god, a sky-god, a god of life, a god of culture and civilization ; he was the creator of all ; he reclaimed Egypt from savagery, gave it laws, and taught its people to worship the gods ; he was a leader and king, to whom his father gave the " government over the two Egypts " ;[103] he was an earth-god, Nile-god, sun-god, moon-god, and air-god ; he was " lord to the uttermost limit " (*nb-r-ḏr*), cf. Budge, Osiris, *passim* ; and above all he died and rose again, and thus became the god of resurrection and god of the dead.

Like Horus, Osiris was called to trial before the gods of Heliopolis. Set entered the tribunal of the gods and lodged a charge against Osiris, and although we have no clear account of the litigation, or of the nature of the charge, we do know that the idea of this trial dominated the entire religious speculation of Egypt. The trial must have had something to do with the slaying of Osiris by Set and the right to the throne of Egypt. However, the trial was held (PT 956-960), the throne was restored to Osiris against the claims of Set, Osiris was vindicated, and he was pronounced " justified ", that is, " true ", or " righteous of voice " (PT 316-18).[104] After his resurrection from the dead, and his trial, he was established at Abydos, where he became the " First of the Westerners " (PT 2021 ; 1996), and where he reigned over a kingdom which

[102] For example, one chapter is called " The Chapter of becoming the Nile ", although the text of the chapter is definitely solar.

[103] Bib. Nat., Stela 20.

[104] As we read in Boylan Thoth, 22-3, this is " not to be confused with the trial in Plutarch in which Thoth prevails as Logos against Seth ".

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was conceived as situated in the West, or below the western horizon, where it merged and extended into the underworld, the place of the dead, the Dwat. As son of the earth-god Geb, Osiris now became god of the dead who inhabited the subterranean world (PT Ut. 592). As a god of the dead, and judge of the dead (PT 139, 157), he was most naturally the cause of much fear. This situation is represented in the Pyramid Texts (e.g. Ut. 534). But in spite of that, he became, in time, the most popular and most beloved of all the gods. He was a just and merciful judge, the protective god of the dead, their champion and their friend. This the many prayers addressed to him make quite clear.[105] When Osiris was adopted into the Heliopolitan system of theological thought, his kingdom, beyond the tomb, was to some extent solarized. There, therefore, arose confusion, characteristic of the Pyramid Texts, as to the nature of the Osirian hereafter, a confusion which lasted throughout Egyptian religious thought. However, the fundamentals of the underworld-idea remained characteristically Osirian.[106]

The idea of a judgment of the dead took some time to establish itself; however, it was inherent in the conception of the judgeship of Osiris, which was well developed by the time of the Pyramid Texts. The conception of litigation, trial, judgment, decisions, was an essential element in the Osirian legends, and quite natural to them. By the Eighteenth Dynasty the idea of a judgment had long been an established one, and very often Osiris was pictured sitting in judgment, usually assisted by forty-two gods. The judgment took place in the Judgment Hall of Osiris, often represented as the sixth division of the domain through which the sun passes at night, but otherwise as a place of preparation for entrance into the abode of Osiris. In the famous papyrus of Ani, of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Osiris is represented enthroned at one end of the Judgment Hall, with Isis and Nephthys standing behind him. The ennead of Heliopolis are there, and behind all crouches the "devouress", with the head of a crocodile, forequarters of a lion, and hindquarters of a hippopotamus, waiting to devour the soul who fails in the judgment. In the midst stands the balances, manipulated by Anubis.

[105] The tendency of Breasted Development to emphasize the idea that Osiris began his career as a terrifying death-god is a misunderstanding of all which legend and literature have to tell us about him. The chief Pyramid Texts which represent him as an enemy of the dead are: 145-6, 350, 1267.

[106] See chapter XIX, "Death and the Future".

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Thot, scribe of the gods, is ready with pen and papyrus. The whole scene is Osirian although there are solar elements, such as the presence of the Heliopolitan ennead and "the balances of Rēᶜ". Before the time of the Middle Kingdom, we hear only of a judgment of the dead king,[107] but after that the idea received a universal application in Egypt—every soul must stand the ordeal before Osiris in the hereafter.[108] The judgment would seem to have taken place soon after death, there being no evidence of a belief in a general resurrection, with a general judgment, nor in a protracted punishment.[109] Before the Middle Kingdom the dead king who passed the judgment test became an Osiris, and after that each individual who stood the test also became an Osiris.[110]

The trials of both Horus and Osiris involved the idea of truth and justice. Indeed, as we shall later see, the moral idea, in its simplest form, is as old as humanity itself. But among ancient Egyptians, the idea of truth, justice, and righteousness, was for various reasons particularly associated with the god Osiris, and the moral ideal and the power of making moral distinctions were developed and refined during the Middle Kingdom to a degree unequalled before and rarely ever surpassed afterwards. As a result of his trial before the gods, Osiris was pronounced "True" or "righteous of voice" (*mȝᶜ-ḫrw*) (PT 316-318). This was in keeping with his reputation as a god of truth, justice, and righteousness. Consequently, the judgment of the dead, which marked the transition from this world into that of the Kingdom of Osiris, was a moral test, and the outcome of the judgment depended upon the moral character of the soul being judged. Entrance into the Kingdom of Osiris depended upon a moral and upright life (cf. BD, 125). And this idea of the moral dependence of the future life upon the deeds of this life, while forming the very foundation principle of the Osirian faith after the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, was already operative at the very beginning of the Osirian faith in the world beyond.

The worship of Osiris is, no doubt, prehistoric, and it lasted officially until the time of Justinian, about A.D. 527-565, and

[107] Cf. Moret, "Le Jugement du Roi Mort", *Annuaire de l'Ecole prat. des Hautes Etudes*, Paris, 1922-3.

[108] Cf. Moret Nile, 255.

[109] See further on the general subject of judgment in the chapter on Death and the Future; also compare Budge Fetish, chapter XII.

[110] Cf. Erman Religion, 220.

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unofficially, in places, very much later. By the time of the Pyramid Texts it was a well-established cult. It was a mortuary cult, dominated by the idea of the death and resurrection of Osiris, and even the daily temple-worship of Egypt, which was solar in character, in time tended to become a sort of funerary ritual. Elements of the early ritual are extant in the Pyramid Texts,[111] as well as in the hymns, prayers, and litanies of all the succeeding ages, and rites of rejoicing and mourning were common at all times and in all places in ancient Egypt.[112]

The death, burial, resurrection, and triumph of Osiris formed the subject of mystery rites, at the latest, as early as the Twelfth Dynasty. It became the desire of every pious Egyptian to make a pilgrimage to Abydos and there in that sacred place of Osiris to attend one of these plays or services.[113] The great festival of Osiris in the month Choiak, a dramatic representation of the death and resurrection of the god, is described on the walls of the temple of Dendera.

The famous *ḥb-śd*, the oldest of all the great Egyptian religious ceremonies, well-known already in the First Dynasty, and celebrated as late as the Roman period, seemed to have had, as its central purpose, the identification of the king with Osiris. The king assumed the costume and insignia of Osiris[114] and seemed to impersonate him, in his death and resurrection. The ceremony was supposed to result in the renewal and strengthening of the life of the king.[115] A full account of this important festival will be found in the chapter, below, on Worship.

According to the list of nomes engraved on the walls of Ptolemaic temples, each nome-capital preserved a bit of the body of Osiris in its temple and therefore was a sanctuary of Osiris, and legends preserve lists of these cities.[116] Indeed, it is probable that there was a shrine of Osiris in every temple in Egypt.[117] His

[111] ÄZ, 60 (1925), 16-39.

[112] Cf. Moret Nile, 84 ; ÄZ, 4 (1867), 64-8.

[113] Schaefer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos*, Leipzig, 1904 ; Junker, "Die Mysterien des Osiris", *Semaine d'Ethnologie religieuse*, 1922 ; ERE, 9, 75a ; Moret Rituel, *passim*.

[114] Gwyn Griffiths in JEA, 28 (1942), 71, contradicts this generally accepted statement without furnishing any adequate proof.

[115] See also Sethe Urgeschichte, 219 ; ÄZ, 39 (1901), 71-4 ; *Analecta Orientalia*, 17 (1938), 4.

[116] Cf. Moret Nile, 89 ; Budge Legends, 224, n. 2 ; Budge Gods, II, 127.

[117] Cf. Budge Gods, II, 176 ff.

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earliest home in Egypt was *Ḏd.w*, which became identified with Busiris. This city and that of Abydos became the two great centres of the life, activity, and worship of Osiris. The head of Osiris is supposed to have been buried at Abydos and his backbone at Busiris. On account of the death and resurrection of Osiris at Abydos, that city became an Egyptian Mecca. While Abydos and Busiris were the two great centres of the worship of Osiris, Heliopolis was the place where through his association with Rē^{c} he attained his great eminence as a mighty god, although it was in the hearts of the masses that he became the people's god.

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CHAPTER VII

RĒᶜ, THE STATE GOD

MOSTLY by way of the eastern Delta, but perhaps partly also via the Wâdi Ḥammâmât there entered Egypt, early during the Second Civilization, a pillar-people, who worshipped the sun. They came from the islands of the Mediterranean, and, in part, and perhaps ultimately, from the north-eastern shores of the Mediterranean and its hinterland. They belonged to the "Oriental" branch of the Mediterranean race, with a considerable Armenoid tinge. These Iwntiw, or pillar-people, penetrated into Egypt, and finally settled at the apex of the Delta, where they founded a city, which was later called Heliopolis. They were an intellectual people, and made considerable cultural contributions to the growing and developing Second Civilization. They had traits in common with the worshippers of Horus and those of Osiris, with whom they found it easy to live and to work. They were aristocratic, but peaceful. They found it easy to make friends with the indigenous worshippers of Set, whom they came to like. So that when trouble arose between Osiris and Set, the followers of the sun-god, who was called Rēᶜ, found it difficult to take sides. However, after the defeat of Set by Horus and the Second Union of Egypt, the problem solved itself. Osiris had now become the god and king of the dead, Horus succeeded his father as king of Egypt and Rēᶜ and his followers played a useful rôle as a kind of link between the two parts of the kingdom, Upper and Lower Egypt. Horus made Heliopolis the imperial capital, while the political capital of the North was Buto and that of the south was Nekhen. Abydos became the religious capital of Egypt.

Unfortunately, the Second Union was not to be any more lasting than the First under Osiris. The Delta was wide-open to foreign influence. Immigrants were pouring in. The "Horus"-king of the North was being despised in the eyes of the "Horus"-king of the South. The followers of Horus were beginning to be rent in twain by the natural division of the country into Upper and Lower Egypt. Very soon hostilities between the two began, which lasted for a considerable time, perhaps, through the best part of

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three reigns,[1] those of " Scorpion ", Narmer, and Menes. Finally, the Delta had to yield to Menes, " Horus "-king of the South, and the Third and permanent Union of the Two Lands took place. Menes hailed from Thinis (This) near Abydos, in northern Upper Egypt, so he made Thinis his political capital, and he built a new imperial city, Memphis, near the dividing line between North and South. Abydos remained, perhaps unofficially, the religious capital, the centre of the cult of Osiris, while Heliopolis was growing more and more important as the centre of learning, and the home of Rē^{c} and his learned, cultured, and powerful priesthood. The defeat of the " Horus "-king of the North somewhat discredited Buto, the old Horus capital, and the centre of the cult of Horus, as the dynastic god, was now transferred also to the South, at Hierakonpolis, the southern *Bḥd.t*, Edfu.

There were more myths and legends about Rē^{c} than about any other single deity in the whole Egyptian pantheon. The chief of these (see also chapter II) were *The Legend of Horus and the Winged Disk*, *The Legend of the Destruction of Mankind*, *The Legend of the Poisoning of Rē^{c} by Isis*, *The Legend of Shu and Geb when they reigned as Kings upon Earth*, and *The Burning of Apophis*. There are extant numerous hymns to Rē^{c}, the oldest and one of the longest being among the Pyramid Texts (1587 ff.), and there are references to books of Rē^{c}, in the Book of the Dead, such as the " Book of the Praising of Rē^{c} ", the " Book of Knowing the Evolutions of Rē^{c} ", etc.

Although, as we learn from *The Legend of the Poisoning of Rē^{c} by Isis*, that Rē^{c} had a secret name, and multitudes of names, his great name was Rē^{c}, which is exactly the same as the word for sun, which seems to indicate that he was the physical sun personified. The word *r^{c}* perhaps belongs to the oldest elements of the Egyptian language, but it can be related to no certain stem. However, it is so short that there is at present no certainty as to its ultimate origin. It is reproduced in Coptic as *rē*, *ri*, or *re*, in Greek as *Pη*, in cuneiform as *rîa* or *rîya*, and in Semitic as רע, a faithful reproduction of the original.[2]

According to Heliopolitan theologians Rē^{c} was the same as the great primordial god Atum (PT Ut. 217 ; BD, 17), and begat, either by his own masculine power, self-developed (PT 1818, 1248),

[1] See chapter I, notes 9 and 10.

[2] Sethe Urgeschichte, 70 ; RT, 37 (1915), 111 ; J. Bloch, JSOR, 16 (1932), 57 ; B. Gunn, ER, 1 (1933), 33-4.

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or by a consort, Shu and Tefnut his wife ; of these Geb and Nut were born, whose children were Osiris and Set, Isis and Nephthys. Rēᶜ was thought to have been self-produced (PT 1248). But before that, it was already thought that the world as we see it, " The All ", Atum,[3] arose out of the primeval water, Nun, and Rēᶜ was the offspring of Atum. When Rēᶜ and Atum were identified, it was thought that Rēᶜ arose out of Nun (BD (Budge), p. 93). Others believed that Rēᶜ was the son of Geb and Nut,[4] Nut being thought of as an immense cow ; or that he first appeared as a child in a

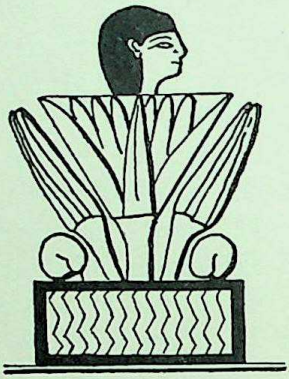

Fig. 25
RĒᶜ RISING FROM A LOTUS

lotus flower, which bloomed in the primeval abyss ; or was born from an egg formed by Ptah ; or was brought forth by Nut as a goddess. Just as a grammatical wife was imagined for Nun, namely, Nunet ; so one was furnished for Rēᶜ, namely, Rat.[5] However, Hathor was sometimes named as wife of Rēᶜ, and sometimes as his daughter. Besides Shu, both Osiris (BD 17) and Set (*Contendings*) were sometimes considered sons of Rēᶜ, and so was Horus (Mythe d'Horus, pl. 13, 1). Besides Hathor, the goddess Maat was often taken to be a daughter of Rēᶜ. From the Fifth Dynasty on it was believed that each pharaoh was the physical son of Rēᶜ by a human mother, so that one of his royal titles reads " Son of Rēᶜ " (*s3 rᶜ*).

Rēᶜ, like all other great gods, had many titles. He was, of course, first and foremost " the sun ", for he was, in reality, the

3 Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 114 ; ÄZ, 46 (1910), 140.
4 Sethe Sonnenauge, 6, Anm. 5 ; cf. PT 1835.
5 Sphinx, VI, 25, 189.

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objective sun personified and worshipped. As far as his own worshippers were concerned, he was head of all the gods (PT 1479), and, as Atum, he was father of the gods (PT 1521). He assumed the title " king of the gods " as soon as he became politically powerful in the Pyramid Age, and as " lord of truth (*mȝ't.*) " he became the great arbiter before whom all might receive justice. When he was called " the god ",[6] or the " only one ",[7] his worshippers were expressing their devotion to him and their admiration for him. Indeed, the titles of Rē^{c} were numerous. In the famous *Seventy-five Praises of Re*^{c},[8] he is addressed, among many other things, as " creator ", " begetter of the gods ", " maker of his own body ", " light of the world ", " the body of " numerous gods, including Atum, Nun, Khepri, Shu, Geb, Tefnut, Nut, Isis, Nephthys, Horus. He is even called the " First of the Westerners " (*ḫnti 'imntiw*). As attributes, the followers of Rē^{c} saw in him[9] the creator of the world of gods, men, and things, including himself; the master of heaven and earth ; the only one ; and lord of eternity. He was supreme among gods and men (PT 1479).

The oldest extant symbol of Rē^{c} is a sun disc, as a nome sign, on pottery, of the Gerzean culture, representing the Second Civilization of prehistoric Egypt.[10] From exactly the same period come evidence of foreign intercourse with the islands of the Mediterranean —an interesting fact in view of the probability that the earliest worshippers of the sun in ancient Egypt came, in part, from island homes in the Mediterranean.

The Egyptian name of Heliopolis was *'iwnw*, a pillar, and the people were *'iwntiw*, " pillar-people ". The hieroglyph used in writing *'iwnw* is an obelisk-shaped pillar. The pointed pyramidal-top of the obelisk was called *bnbn* or *bnbn.t.* The same word applied to the top of a pyramid, or to the whole pyramid, when, as usual, it took the same shape. The pyramidal-top of the *'iwnw* was, therefore, a *bnbn*. Now, this *bnbn* became the most sacred symbol of the god Rē^{c}, his worshippers, and his city, Heliopolis. The reason, no doubt, was that the *bnbn*, as top of an obelisk

[6] Moret Nile, 242.

[7] " A Hymn to Rē^{c} when he riseth ", Budge Fetish, 390-1.

[8] See Budge Fetish, 393-400.

[9] See " A Hymn to Rē^{c} when he riseth ", Budge Fetish, 389-90.

[10] Petrie Making, pl. 27, 118, E16, and probably also M17. The oldest representation of the winged sun-disk is that preserved on an ivory comb of the First Dynasty (Petrie Courtiers, chapter IV, § 4, etc. ; cf. ÄZ, 64 (1929), 112 ; 66 (1930), 69-70.

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or pyramid, could so easily catch and reflect the rays of the sun.[11] Indeed, in order to reflect them more perfectly, the *bnbn* was often gilded. It was the *bnbn*,[12] then, and not the whole obelisk or pyramid which became so sacred to Rēᶜ, and which was his greatest symbol. It is said that Rēᶜ, when he created the other gods, was sitting aloft on the *bn* (or *bnbn*) in the form of a phoenix (PT Ut. 600). This phoenix (or *bnw*-bird ; see, however, n. 51, chapter XIII, below) was regarded as the soul of Rēᶜ.[13] The sacred *bn* was guarded in the sanctuary of Rēᶜ at Heliopolis, called the *bnbn*-house.[14] Rēᶜ had also other symbols, such as, the falcon ; the sphinx ; two boats, *mᶜnḏ.t*, the morning-boat, and *mśkt.t*, the evening boat ; and two sycamores between which he appeared daily.

As a rule Rēᶜ assumed one of three different forms : At dawn, he appeared as the beetle, Khepri (*ḫpri*) ; at noon, he was the sun, Rēᶜ ; at the end of the day, he appeared as an aged-man, Atum. As Khepri, he was represented in the form of a beetle, or man with the head of a beetle ; as Rēᶜ, he was a falcon-headed or ram-headed man with a solar disc on his head, and often represented sailing across the heavens in a boat ; as Atum, he became an aged man tottering down the west.[15] He was often thought to have been a man born from a heavenly goddess, who grew to manhood during the day, and became an old man by evening. Then, again, he was thought to have been a golden calf, born in the morning from a heavenly cow, growing into a bull by day, whence he was called " bull of his mother ", Kamephis. As a falcon or falcon-headed man, with two flaming eyes, the sun and moon, he was the ruler of heaven. As the rising sun, he was often called Rēᶜ-Harachte, and appeared as a falcon-headed man. As disk of the sun, falcon, beetle, calf, or human being, Rēᶜ lent himself to all kinds of poetical or speculative developments. He sometimes appeared also as a lion, and as a great cat which fought with the ᶜ*3pp*-serpent. He is most commonly represented as a falcon-headed man, crowned with a sun's disk and uraeus, grasping a *w3ś* and an ᶜ*nḫ*. Except as Amūn-Rēᶜ, he was very rarely represented in statuary form.

[11] Cf. Pliny the Elder, N.H., XXXVI, 14, 1, where a legend is preserved to the effect that an obelisk was an image of the rays of the sun.

[12] The *bnbn* was so sacred as to have a special cult, RT, 24 (1902), 167.

[13] BD (Budge), p. cxlii ; cf. Pap Boulaq, 3, pl. 14, 19. The soul of Rēᶜ also took the form of a falcon, just as the soul of Osiris took that of a human-headed bird, wearing the white crown (Pap Ani, chapter 17, vignette).

[14] BAR, III, 16, l. 5, etc.

[15] Cf. Budge Gods, I, 352.

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Many of the great gods of Egypt, except Osiris, Ptah, and Thot, were sooner or later identified with Rē^{c}. His earliest identification was with Atum (PT 1694-5, Ut. 217), the ancient god whom he succeeded.[16] An important and far-reaching identification was

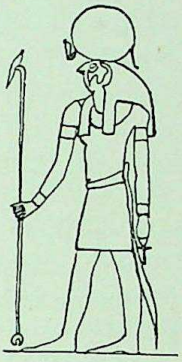

Fig. 26
RĒ^{c}

that of Rē^{c} with Horus. As both were fundamentally connected with the sky, heaven, the sun, light, it was natural that they should, at a very early time, be identified. The falcon as the old Horus symbol was adopted by Rē^{c}, so that Rē^{c}, at his rising, or setting, or both, became Rē^{c}-Harachte, that is, Rē^{c}-Horus of the horizon (or with the dual, horizons). Rē^{c}-Harachte was taken to be the same as Rē^{c}-Horus (PT 348, 855). As Rē^{c}-Horus he was identified with Harpocrates in Roman times (LD, IV, 63c). Indeed, as early as the Fifth Dynasty the falcon sign began to be used for *rē*^{c}, and by the time of Manetho the falcon and *rē*^{c} signs were considered equivalent. From the time of the Middle Kingdom on the pharaohs called themselves not Horus, but Horus-Rē^{c} or Rē^{c}-Horus.[17] Rē^{c} was also identified with Horus in his name, Harsomtus, "Horus uniter of the Two Lands", as well with him in his name, Harmachis, "Horus on the horizon", becoming Rē^{c}-Harsomtus and Rē^{c}-Harmachis, the great Sphinx at Gizeh being the symbol of the latter. Rē^{c} also appeared as Khepri, the morning-sun ;[18] Shu, an air- or light-god ;[19] Min, an ancient god of Koptos ;[20] Sebek, the crocodile

[16] Cf. BD, 17 ; ÄZ, 21 (1883), 27.
[17] Moret Royauté, 21-4.
[18] Cf. Budge, *Facsim. of Eg. Hieratic Pap.*, London, 1910, 26 ff.
[19] RT, 2 (1880), 168, 4 ; LD, IV, 24.29a.
[20] Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase El-Charge*, Leipzig, 1878, *passim.*

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god ;[21] Montu ; the warlike, falcon-god ;[22] Khnum, the ram-headed god ;[23] and in Ptolemaic times there was a Soker-Rēᶜ.[24] The most spectacular identification made by Rēᶜ was that with Amūn of Thebes, beginning at the time of the Middle Kingdom. This will be treated in full in the next chapter. The chapter on Aton will show Rēᶜ's relationship with that god. In the Greek period he was identified with Helios, and in Roman times with Jupiter.

The associates of Rēᶜ were numerous. Each local cult attempted to work the sun-god into its myths. The moon was Rēᶜ's representative by night ; and, because the words for " eye " and " serpent " are feminine, an endless number of goddesses were explained as female forms of the sun-god, so that they were called the eye, crown, or daughter of Rēᶜ. But the deity who was the closest in religious thought to Rēᶜ was the god Osiris. The similarities and contrasts between the theological systems which were constructed by the religious followers of these two great gods will be treated in another chapter (chapter XVII). The earlier of the two gods, so far as Egypt was concerned, was Osiris. His original attributes, as we have seen, were those of a leader and vegetation-god. After his death at the hand of Set and his ensuing resurrection, he became a god of the dead and of resurrection. As such he became very popular. When the priests of Rēᶜ at Heliopolis were compiling their system of solar theology, or when this system was being prepared for inscription in the pyramids of Saḳḳâreh, the reputation of Osiris was so great that an attempt was made to fit him and his teaching into that system. The result was not a happy one from the standpoint of clearness and consistency. Osiris the god of death, resurrection, and the underworld was represented as sky and heaven god. He almost completely usurped the rights and prerogatives of Rēᶜ, as a sun, sky, and heaven god. Indeed, from then on until the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Osiris and Rēᶜ seem to have become almost one,[25] and there was a tendency to forget the fundamental difference between the two gods—Osiris as " Yesterday ", a god of the next world, a passive being ; Rēᶜ as " To-morrow ", a god of this world, an agent living and active.[26]

[21] Sethe Urgeschichte, 123.
[22] Sethe Urgeschichte, 123 ; Junker Onurislegende, 32 f.
[23] Sethe Urgeschichte, 123 ; Lanzone Diz, 965-6 ; LD, IV, 88.
[24] Griffith, *Two Hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis*, London, 1889, pl. X, 11-12.
[25] Cf. Budge Gods, I, 148 ; BD (Budge), 130, 181 ; ÄZ, 65 (1930), 73.
[26] BD, 17 ; cf. Breasted Development, 164.

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A fairly full account of the probable origin of Rē^{c} and his followers may be found in the author's book on Horus, already referred to, in chapter III. As we have seen, they were a pillar-people, like Osiris and his followers, and like them may have been originally related to the peoples of Palestine and Syria, where cults of *maṣṣeboth* and *baetyli* were common ; to the inhabitants of Western Asia in general, where solar religion flourished ; or partly to the northern part of Western Asia, where corn in the form of emmer had its home, and whence possibly came the physical type which appeared in Egypt about the time just before the beginning of the dynasties, an Armenoid type apparent in the facial features seen in the statues of the great men of the Pyramid Age. These sun-worshippers, may have come, then, from some region in Western Asia, from Syria and Palestine, or from the Caucasus, via Syria and the islands of the Mediterranean, by sea, by the way of the eastern Delta, and in part via the Wâdi Ḥammâmât, where, according to Egyptian tradition, the *'iwntiw* dwelt, and roamed, during early Egyptian times, when the Egyptians often came into conflict with them. As we have seen, Rē^{c} and his people called the site of their settlement in Egypt after their own symbol, a pillar, *'iwn* ; the city, thus, being *'iwnw*, the On of the Old Testament. In time, these worshippers of Rē^{c} believed that as a divine being he once reigned upon earth, and was supreme in the affairs of Egypt (PT 1587-95). They went still farther, and, as we have noted above, they believed that he arose out of Nun, self-created, as the first of all the gods and that he created all things in heaven and on earth. He finally identified himself with the sun, when he was called Rē^{c}.

It seems that the followers of Rē^{c} had set up a political organization apart from the rest of Lower Egypt, with *'iwnw*, Heliopolis, as their city. After Osiris had united the Delta with northern Upper Egypt, with the consent and co-operation of the Rē^{c} people, he made Heliopolis the imperial city, so that after Osiris was defeated by Set, and Horus succeeded his father, Horus recognized the importance of Heliopolis and closely allied his own kingdom of *Bḥd.t* with it.[27] It was perhaps under these circumstances that the close identification of Rē^{c} with Horus was developed, when the latter became the winged sun-disk in Heliopolis. But Heliopolis was a very small, though important and cultured city-state, and it took her a long time to make herself felt. However, at the latest, by

[27] Sethe Urgeschichte, 135 ; cf. PT 211-22.

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the Second Dynasty, evidence of political power was not lacking, for the second king of that dynasty called himself Nebrēᶜ, the first Egyptian ruler to use the name of the god Rēᶜ as a part of his name. And with the third king of the Fourth Dynasty, Khafre, the practice began of calling the pharaoh, "Son of Rēᶜ".[28] With the Fifth Dynasty the religion of the followers of Rēᶜ became the state religion, and Rēᶜ became the state god. A later legend arose to account for this great event. It was said that Rēᶜ sought a wife for himself. He found her in the person of the wife of one of the priests of Heliopolis. She bore to Rēᶜ three sons, and these three sons became in turn the first three kings of the Fifth Dynasty.[29] The story, no doubt, came out of a priestly circle, the same source, in Heliopolis, which created the groundwork of the Pyramid Texts, and set the cult of Rēᶜ upon solid foundations. The beginning of the Fifth Dynasty marked the first steps in the final triumph of the theology of Heliopolis. The pharaoh remained the earthly incarnation of Horus. He was "Horus", a "Horus"-king, a Follower of the old god Horus, for Horus was, and always remained, the Royal God. But beginning with Khafre, the pharaoh was called also "Son of Rēᶜ", and, moreover, it was believed that from the first king of the Fifth Dynasty on, the pharaoh was physical son of the god Rēᶜ. Rēᶜ and his worship were now supreme in the state, so that from now on, while Horus was Royal God, being incarnated in the king, he was, as king, but "Son of Rēᶜ", that is, son of the State God. Rēᶜ now became more important than Horus. He was State God; Horus was "king-god", that is, Royal God. Now it was that the great sun-temples were built, the upper part of which was in the form of an obelisk, symbol of Rēᶜ.[30]

Under the Sixth Dynasty, the dead king became Rēᶜ. Thus the king during his life-time was Horus and also Son of Rēᶜ. As soon as he died he became Osiris and also Rēᶜ. Hence, Osiris, god of the underworld, in the person of the dead king, who is an Osiris, ascends to heaven and shares the dominion there with Rēᶜ.

[28] Burchardt und Pieper, *Handbuch der aegyptischen Königsnamen*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 11.

[29] This legend is preserved in Pap Westcar of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The story is represented as having been a prediction made to Khufu by Dedi, a magician. In any case, there was, no doubt, a breach between the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, for according to Manetho the Fifth Dynasty came from Elephantiné, and another, but much earlier tradition, says that it had its origin in the neighbourhood of Memphis (cf. Moret Nile, 156-7).

[30] See Moret Nile, 162 f., and fig. 46.

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Likewise Rē^{c}, god of heaven, in the person of the dead king, who is a Rē^{c}, descends to the underworld and shares the dominion there with Osiris. This belief came about, in part, no doubt, as a result of an attempt to find a place for the important and powerful Osiris in the Pyramid Texts.

With slight exceptions, here and there, for example, under the Hyksos, when Set became influential; under Amenophis III, when the cult of Rē^{c}-Harachte was emphasized; or under Ikhnaton, when Aton was in vogue, Rē^{c} himself, or as Amūn-Rē^{c}, reigned supreme as state god. It was not until the days of the Ptolemys that the religion of Rē^{c} was finally submerged, when Osiris himself, or as Serapis, became state god as well as the popular god of Egypt, as he had been from time immemorial.[31]

In the well-known *Legend of the Destruction of Mankind*,[32] we have preserved to us a fairly clear idea of what the Egyptians thought about the origin of things in general and of Rē^{c} in particular. Rē^{c} was self-begotten and self-created. He was the creator of all things, including gods and men. Rē^{c} brought himself out of Nun (the primeval abyss; or perhaps, nothingness) and raised all things and beings out of it. The legend speaks of the mouth and heart of Rē^{c}, which, like the Memphite doctrine, seems to infer that Rē^{c}'s act of thought and word were potent forces in creation, or, at least, the vehicles by which Rē^{c}'s automatic power operated.[33] The legend particularly refers to the belief that in the beginning nothingness or, at most, a watery abyss existed, out of which, self-created, arose Rē^{c}, and then "from being one god I (Rē^{c}) became three gods", which refers to the origin of Shu and Tefnut. Finally, mankind came into being, "men and women sprang into being from the tears which came from my eye". Parallel ideas of creation may be found in that other well-known myth, *The Legend of Rē^{c} and Isis*.[34] When the idea of Rē^{c}'s government of the world is emphasized, the other gods are represented as being brought into being as his ministers, helpers, and messengers. It is therefore natural to read in a *Hymn to Rē^{c} when he riseth*[35] that Rē^{c} was crowned king of the gods, who pay homage to him as their chief. Indeed,

[31] Cf. Jablonski, *Pantheon*, 1, 122 ff.; Breasted Development, 367.

[32] Budge Legends, 14-41.

[33] This same idea is expressed in the Pyramid Texts, where it is said that "divine forms issued from the mouth of Rē^{c}" (800, 1720). Compare the same idea in the Louvre Stela C3, "The gods issued from the mouth of Rē^{c}."

[34] Budge Legends, 42-55.

[35] Budge Fetish, 387-9.

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Nun, the primordial abyss, personified, addressed Rēᶜ, his son, saying, "Thou art greater than he (Nun) who made thee."[36]

In the *Legend of the Destruction of Mankind* we learn also of a rebellion against Rēᶜ. Men rebelled against the god. Rēᶜ, therefore, summoned the gods to him, and on their advice he set Hathor-Sekhmet against mankind. The goddess descended to the earth and began her work of destruction. Rēᶜ caused her to desist. According to another story, the enemies of Rēᶜ, led by the great serpent Apophis (ᶜ3*pp*), planned to kill him at sunrise, when he was weak. A great battle developed and lasted until night, when the enemy were defeated. These stories are already reflected in the Pyramid Texts, for example, where an insurrection against Rēᶜ is referred to (Ut. 258); and in the Seventeenth Chapter of the Book of the Dead (1.5.23), where the destruction of the enemy of Rēᶜ is the subject. These episodes were, no doubt, partly cosmological in design (e.g. PT 500), the serpent Apophis symbolizing clouds and storms, the natural enemies of the sun. But they most likely arose out of a simple and literal attempt to understand the ways of the gods, just as the legends of the strife between Horus and Set most likely had their origin in political events. Finally, after all his trouble—according to the anthromorphic fashion of the thought of his worshippers—Rēᶜ complained of pain and his weariness of the children of men, so he mounted on the back of Nut, the sky-goddess, and remained alone in the sky. But before doing so he took steps through Thot to supply mankind with words of power and spells with which to protect themselves against harm. When Rēᶜ retired from the earth, his realm became the heavenly hereafter, just as that of Osiris was the subterranean hereafter.

Anyone carefully reading such a composition as *The Seventy-five Praises of Rēᶜ*[37] cannot help being struck by the fact that all worshippers of any great god tend to ascribe to him a universal power of creation and preservation. To him they tend to ascribe every divine and human attribute known to them. They tend to make him universal—but without the least idea of what we believe as monotheism. They never think of denying the actual existence of other gods; however, they believe their god to be supreme, the source and origin of all. This may, indeed, be called a tendency towards monotheism, especially, in the case of Rēᶜ, where all other

[36] Budge Legends, 17; for references to creation see also above, pp. 28 and 38 ff.

[37] Budge Fetish, 393-400.

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gods were thought to be nothing more than the various names of Rē^{c}, but monotheism, in the modern philosophical and theological sense of that term, it is not.

Parallel to the myth of the Eye of Horus is a myth (in fragmentary form) of the Eye of Rē^{c}, which was perhaps the same as the right eye of Horus. According to these fragments, found in BD 17 and in the so-called Apophis-book, the Eye of Rē^{c} appeared as Hathor, or Hathor-Sekhmet. But the Eye of Rē^{c} was originally Rē^{c}, the sun, himself, the moon being the Eye of Horus ; and legend made it into a separate divine being, a goddess, a messenger and agent of the power of Rē^{c}.[38]

The greatness of Rē^{c} especially after the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties resulted in attributing to him the moral requirements laid upon the dead in the heavenly as well as in the subterranean hereafter. So he became the champion of moral worthiness and judge in the hereafter, side by side with Osiris. He, as well as Osiris, was a god of righteousness and truth, for he was the creator of truth.[39]

During the Fifth Dynasty the worship of Rē^{c}, with its centre at Heliopolis, was developed with great detail. In the course of time this Heliopolitan form of worship became universal in Egypt. It became the state liturgy, as Rē^{c} became the state god. The high priest of all Egypt, as well as of Heliopolis, was the king, the " Son of Rē^{c} ". The idea of god emphasized in the thought and ritual of this liturgy was that of righteousness, and physical purity. Consequently, the liturgy consisted largely of a series of toilet episodes, consisting of lustral washing of an image of Rē^{c}, together with a long series of other toilet performances. Then a meal was presented to the god, in the form of a sacrifice, with long and rich ceremonies. This form of worship became more and more standardized as time went on.[40]

The home and centre of Rē^{c}-worship was Heliopolis, where his temple was called the " House of the Obelisk ". The same word, *bnbn*, translated " obelisk " was applied to various sanctuaries sacred to Rē^{c}. Each king of the Fifth Dynasty built a vast sanctuary, for the worship of Rē^{c}, in connection with the royal residence. In the

[38] Sethe Sonnenauge, 38 ; Erman Hymnen, *passim* ; Junker Hathor-Tefnut, *passim*. The two boats of the sun were also sometimes considered as the two eyes of Rē^{c}.

[39] Precepts of Ptah-hotep, § 5 ; cf. Erman-Blackman Literature, 57.

[40] For a full discussion of worship, see chapter XX below.

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place of the holy of holies was a massive masonry obelisk, surmounted by a pyramid.[41] There were many centres of Rēᶜ-worship in ancient Egypt, and almost every important sanctuary sought to gain honour by associating in some way its own early history with the god Rēᶜ. There were Rēᶜ-sanctuaries at Memphis, at Busiris (Abuṣîr), in the Faiyûm, at Heliopolis, Abydos, Dendera, Koptos, Thebes, Hermonthis, Esne, Edfu, Ombos, Elephantiné, Wâdi es-Sebuᶜa, Abu Simbel, at Gebel Adda, and, indeed, almost everywhere, in both Egypt and Nubia.

[41] Sethe, " Die Heiligthümer des Ré im alten Reich ", ÄZ, 27 (1889), 111-17.

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CHAPTER VIII

TEN GREAT GODS

SO far as archaeological evidence is concerned, one of the very oldest of Egyptian gods was MIN (*mnw*) of Koptos in Upper Egypt, where the "thunderbolt" was the ensign of him as god of the capital of the nome. He was also god of Panopolis, where the "thunderbolt" was the ensign of the nome as well as of himself. Both Horus and Set had something to do with Koptos at a very early period for the falcon and the animal of Set in prehistoric times were connected with it. Min's name was connected with the *'iwntiw* of the region east of Koptos, and he may have been worshipped by them (BAR, I, 443).

Tradition has usually regarded Min as son of Rēᶜ, of Osiris and Isis, or of the god Shu. He bore the title "lord of Koptos" (BAR, I, 296, 443, etc.), "lord of Panopolis" (BAR, II, 181), "chief of heaven" (BAR, IV, 916), "lord of *śḥn.t* (command?)",[1] and "creator of the pure, costly stone" of the Ḥammâmât mountains (BAR, I, 442). Min was primarily a god of fertility, and particularly of sexual production, for he was usually pictured as an ithyphallic, bearded man. He was also a storm-god as his emblem, the thunderbolt would indicate,[2] as well as a sky-god[3] and a moon-god.[4] Like Horus he may also be classed a *kȝ-mwt.f*-god.[5]

Min's great symbol was the thunderbolt,[6] a prehistoric ensign, which connected him originally with both Koptos (Kuft) and Panopolis (Akhmim). There are indications that he first was god of Akhmim when *'Iȝ ḥsi* was god of Koptos, both having the same symbol, and that later he was brought to Koptos, and there he remained under his name Min. A new and much simpler form of Min's symbol was first used by Pepi II, and it is found in the writing of *Ḫm* (Letopolis) one of the chief cities of Horus. He was also

[1] Lange, "Ein lit. Lied an Min" (*Sitz. d. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1927), 335.

[2] Wainwright, "The Emblem of Min", JEA, 17 (1931), 185 ff.; AAA, 3 (1916), 50.

[3] Wainwright Sky-Religion, 3.

[4] Jacobsohn, *op. cit.*, 26.

[5] JEA, 18 (1932), 159.

[6] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 48.

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very early symbolized by a falcon, especially at Koptos. In later times a bull was considered sacred to Min.[7]

The earliest known Egyptian statues are ones of Min of the Gerzean period, found by Petrie at Koptos.[8] On one of the three statues are two drawings of the thunderbolt,[9] Min's chief symbol. The same symbol is found on a slate palette,[10] and as an ensign on pottery of the same period, as well as on the mace-head of king "Scorpion".[11] Min was usually represented as a tightly-swathed figure, with one arm free, raised, and holding a whip, wearing

Fig. 27
MIN

the same head-dress as Amūn, that is, a turban with two long plumes or feathers. Statues of him are extant in the form of a man (Daressy Statues, 38070), mummified (ib., 38479-87), and of a grotesque form (ib., 38836).

The great god Amūn of Thebes may have been merely a localized form of Min.[12] However that may have been, Min was a very powerful god, with whom Amūn was often identified,[13] even as early as the Middle Kingdom.[14] He was, as a result, also

[7] Müller Mythology, 137 ff.
[8] Petrie Making, pl. XXXIV.
[9] Ibid., no. 89.
[10] Ibid., pl. XXV, no. 57.
[11] Ibid., pl. XXVII, no. 118, L, 31, 32.
[12] Cf. Müller Mythology, 137 ff.; Newberry, AAA, 3 (1916), 50.
[13] Sethe Urgeschichte, 202.
[14] Lange, *op. cit.*, 335.

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identified with Amūn-Rēᶜ. With Horus his connections began in prehistoric times. Already in those days, he was a falcon god, a circumstance which may have had something to do with the choice of a falcon as a symbol of heaven, or the face of heaven (*ḥr*), by the original followers of Horus. By the time of the Middle Kingdom, the form Min-Horus appears,[15] and later Sesostris III was called " beloved of Min-Horus of Koptos " (LD, II, 136a). Min was often called " Horus raising the arm ",[16] was identified with Horus the Elder (BAR, IV, 465), and as Min-Amūn he was called also Horus.[17] He was sometimes identified, as a sky-god, with the moon,[18] and by the Greeks he was known as Pan.

Min was probably an old indigenous god located in the neighbourhood of Koptos-Panopolis, at the western termination of the Wâdi Ḥammâmât, and although his symbol was a thunderbolt, he, no doubt, had close connections with people who held a falcon in great respect. At a very early period he was represented at Koptos by two falcons, and in the Pyramid Texts his name is determined by a falcon (1928, 1948, etc.) surmounted by two tall feathers. Indeed, the thunderbolt of prehistoric and early historic times is, as a rule, surmounted by a feather. This had led some to seek a Libyan origin for Min.[19] However, on the other hand, Anzti, of the eastern Delta, was a feather-wearing god, and Winkler, as we have seen above, discovered a prehistoric feather-wearing people between the Nile and the Red Sea. Already on the Palermo Stone, representing the First Dynasty, the " birth of Min " is mentioned, and perhaps also before that time.[20] He is mentioned often in the Pyramid Texts, and we find Pepi I represented with a staff and war-club standing before the ithyphallic Min, where he calls himself, " beloved of the lord of Koptos ".[21] From the time of the Twelfth Dynasty on most gods of cities and nomes were associated with Rēᶜ, and solarized. This was particularly true of Min. Under Rameses II and III the development of the cult of Min was quite marked.[22]

As we have already noted, the " birth of Min " was, no doubt,

[15] Cf. Sélim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux du Moyen Empire*, Le Caire, 1930, p. 177.
[16] Wainwright, JEA, 17 (1931), 190.
[17] Lange, *op. cit.*, 334 ff.
[18] Budge Gods, I, 470.
[19] E.g. Newberry, AAA, 3 (1916), 50-2 ; cf. Wainwright, JEA, 9 (1923), 29.
[20] Bayer Religion, no. 529, also 498.
[21] LD, II, 115, e ; Sethe Urkunden, I, 96 B.
[22] Jacobsohn, *op. cit.*, 36 ff.

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a feast which was celebrated as early as the First Dynasty, and both Pepi I and Sesostris I have been found in an attitude of adoration before Min. A very old liturgical hymn, of the Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty, illustrates how well the cult of Min was developed at that early period.[23] There was a temple of Min at Koptos of the time of Pepi II which was immune from taxes and placed in the hands of priests of Min as a protected domain,[24] and one of Min-Amūn of the reign of Rameses I was endowed (BAR, III, 77). We know of another temple of Min-Amūn at Bohen of the time of Rameses I (BAR, III, 79). There was a cliff-sanctuary of Min near Panopolis of the Ptolemaic period, in which Min, in one place, is called Min-Rēᶜ, and otherwise associated with Horus, Isis, and Amūn-Rēᶜ. Wine is offered to Min, who is represented, with his feathers on his head-dress, in a Min-procession.[25]

Unlike Set, Horus and Rēᶜ, there is so far no archaeological evidence that THOT was certainly a prehistoric nome-god, either of Upper or Lower Egypt. But like Osiris, legend leads us to believe that Thot was one of the oldest gods of Egypt, although it does not make it perfectly clear whether his original home was in the Delta or in the South—probably, however, in the Delta because of his close association with those gods whose earliest abodes were definitely in Lower Egypt. Yet, so far as can at present be made out, the oldest cult-place of Thot was in Upper Egypt, at Hermopolis.

The name of Thot occurs often in texts of the Old Kingdom. In the oldest of these texts it is usually written by means of the picture of an ibis on a perch. This form maintained itself in the texts of every age of Egyptian literature. But the form most widely used in all later periods added the ending for *ti*, and this appears as early as the Middle Kingdom, with the rest of the name written out in full. The accepted transcription of the name is *ḏḥwti*, and our word Thot follows the Coptic *θωοτ* or *θοοτ*. The Greek forms are very varied, the oldest perhaps being *θεύθ*. The Latin is Thoyth or Thoth. Cuneiform of the New Kingdom period represented it as Tiḫut, and Aramaic rendered it by תחות. The word *ḏḥwti* is nisbe in form, derived from *ḏḥwt*, but no such substantive is known. However, the form of the word would seem to demand the translation, "he of *Ḏḥwt*", but what *Ḏḥwt* is no one

[23] Lange, *op. cit.*, *passim.*
[24] Weill Decr. roy., *passim.*
[25] Kees, "Das Felsheiligtum des Min bei Achmim", RT, 36 (1914), 51-6.

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at present knows. It is thought that it might be based on a word meaning " ibis " ; but there is no such word. Therefore, the meaning of the word remains quite unknown. Future archaeological research may reveal a place called *Ḏḥwt* ; if so it will most likely be in the Delta.[26]

Legends which identify Thot with the moon say that the moon-god Thot bore himself, that he came forth from Rēᶜ, or that he was the son of the two lords (that is, the moon is the result of the combat between Horus and Set, light and darkness, with light, the moon, triumphant). According to the famous Edfu text, Mythe d'Horus, Thot was son of Set who was impregnated by Horus. He came forth from the forehead of Set. In one place in the Pyramid Texts (163) Set and Thot are called brothers.

A full list of the titles of Thot is given in Boylan Thoth, Appendix B. Some of the most important were : " Lord of heaven ", " lord of divine words ", " lord of *mꜣᶜt* ", " lord of Hermopolis (*ḥmnw*) ", " great in magic ", " born at the beginning ", " universal benefactor ", " he of the balance ", " the unique ", " he who distinguishes seasons, months, years ", " great one ", " orderer of fate ", " self-begotten ", " lord of life ", " lord of the gods ", " lord of law ", " lord of script ", " lord of judging ", " president of the house of books ", " the scribe ", " he who reconciles the brother-gods ", " the guide ", etc. His Greek title τρισμέγιστος seems to have its origin in the three-fold writing of the hieroglyphic for " great " in Egyptian references to him.[27]

The worshippers of Thot as a matter of course ascribed all greatness to him. He was self-begotten and self-produced, the first god, creator of the world, to whom all deities pray.[28] Although there are indications that Thot and Set were sometimes considered a pair of malignant deities, conspiring against Horus ; as a neutral standing between Horus and Set ; as a mediator and reconciler of the two brothers ;[29] and as a substitute for Set in scenes such as the *smꜣ-tꜣ.wi*,[30] Thot's great work in the drama of Horus and Set was that of arbiter ; and, though he was wounded for his pains, he finally succeeded in bringing the struggle to an end. Our

[26] Boylan Thoth contains the most complete account of Thot ever published. Cf. for the name of Thot, pp. 1-8 ; Griffith, JEA, 9 (1923), 127.

[27] See Boylan Thoth, 129, n. 2.

[28] Cf. Roeder Urkunden, 13 f.

[29] Cf. Boylan Thoth, 38-45.

[30] Moret Nile, fig. 33.

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oldest sources represent Thot not only as arbiter, but also as friend and protector of Horus (e.g. PT 594-7 ; cf. 976, 1176, 1377, 1429), who repulses the friends of Set (PT 575-6, 635). This is the rôle of Thot which is reflected most often in Egyptian literature of all periods, down to the time of Plutarch who sees in Thot the friendly advocate of Horus, winning the case for him. And when the eye of Horus was separated from him, the left eye, that is, the moon, it was natural that Thot, the moon-god, should seek and find it (PT 594-7), and bring it back on his ibis-wings to Horus (PT 976). He acted as advocate also for Osiris, not only in the trial of the dead, but also in the trial of Osiris before the gods of Heliopolis in which Osiris was proclaimed " true of voice " (*m3ᶜ-ḫrw*). Thot brought back also Rēᶜ's missing eye, and as a messenger of the gods was sent as an ape-god to calm the angry Hathor and to persuade her to return.[31] Thot's reputation as scribe or secretary of the gods arose perhaps from the rôle he played in the trial of Osiris before the gods of Heliopolis. There he was recorder and secretary of the gods ; and he filled the same office in the judgment of the dead before Osiris. This latter rôle was quite natural, for one of his oldest (and perhaps his oldest) and most important functions was that of god (or friend and guide) of the dead. From the time of the Pyramid Texts to that of his Greek counterpart, Hermes, Thot was closely associated with Anubis, an ancient god of the dead (e.g. PT 1523, cf. 1287) ; he bore the dead king on his wings (e.g. PT 387, 596, 1429) ; he assembled and united the members of the gods (PT 639) ; his feast was one of the chief memorial days of the dead (PT 2118) ; he appeared in scenes of judgment of the dead where he was weigher of hearts and inspector of the tongue of the balance ; the deceased were identified with him (BD (Budge), p. cxlix) ; and as Hermes, he was guide of the dead.

In many respects, Thot was best known as a god of wisdom. As such, he was the source and possessor of every kind of knowledge ; he was the inventor of writing (BD (Naville), 151a *bis*, 9) with the assistance of Seshat, goddess of writing ; he was secretary of the gods, as we have seen ; he was author of the Book of the Dead (BD (Budge), 1) ; he was lord of time, and numbers, determining the years of the reign of a king ; he was god of law and right, searcher of hearts, and judge of gods and men ; codifier of laws ; the author and organizer of ritual and funerary ceremonials ; and

[31] Spiegelberg Mythus, *passim* ; Sethe Sonnenauge, *passim* ; Junker Hathor-Tefnut, *passim* ; ibid., Onurislegende, *passim*.

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the revealer of riddles (Aeg Inschr Berlin, II, 55), and creator of magic formulae, like Ḥeka, god of magic.

There were two symbols of Thot, the ibis and the ape. Of the three kinds of ibises, the black, *gm*, the white *hbi*, and the *3h*, it was the *hbi* which was the bird of Thot. It is difficult to say which was the earlier symbol. However, Thot was perhaps more often and more consistently represented as an ibis than as an ape. Thot

Fig. 28
THOT

usually appears as an ibis-headed man (Lanzone Diz, pls. 402-6). As such he is often crowned with a moon-cresent and disk. Now and then he was represented in statue as well as in picture as a man with the head of a bull (Daressy Statues, 38590 ; Lanzone Diz, 404, 4). Sometimes he appeared as an ibis, and now and then in the full form of an ape (Lanzone Diz, 404, 1, 2). An ibis-headed man often takes the place of the ibis on the perch in writing, and a rare script has an ape instead of an ibis. Sometimes two symbols are combined in one representation, for example, where an ape appears seated and holding an ibis in his hand, or where an ape appears with a moon-crescent and disk.

The identification of Thot and the moon-god seems certainly to have been recognized as early as the Pyramid Texts (130, cf. 128). In texts beginning with the New Kingdom, evidence of the identification is abundant. Although Middle Kingdom texts are so far silent on this question, there is no reason for assuming that the identification did not hold good for that period also. The special functions of Thot as a lunar deity seem to have been to protect

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the moon, such as the bringing back of the eye of Horus, which was the moon, and his healing of it ;[32] and to have been the measurer of time, symbolized by the notched palm-branch which he carried in ceremonies. Thus, Thot was represented as the guardian and protector of the moon and of the moon's function as a measurer of time ; but he certainly also was really identified with the moon as a moon-god, and perhaps this was the earlier of the two aspects. An interesting passage in the legend of the *Destruction of Mankind* says that Rēᶜ gave Thot power to embrace the heavens, so that the moon-god came into being (Budge Legends, 34-5), thus making Thot the father of the moon-god. In Thebes in the time of Seti I, Thot seems to have been identified with the moon god, Khonsu.[33] Thot was also identified with Shu in Philae and in Nubia ; with Onuris of Nubia ; with *Śiȝ*,[34] the god of reason, understanding, or perception (cf. PT 267-8) ; and, with Hermes, the Greek counterpart of Thot. Finally, it should be noted that as the dead pharaoh became one with Rēᶜ by day, so he became one with Thot by night, and thus was identified with Thot as moon-god (PT 1146 ; cf. 490-1). It seems pretty certain from the above that Thot was originally closely connected with the idea of the moon as a god, and also that his earliest symbol was probably the ibis.

His association with Khonsu cannot be traced back earlier than the Twelfth Dynasty, due no doubt to the fact that Khonsu had no part in the legends about Horus and Set. In the Pyramid Texts there is preserved a double tradition about the relationship between Thot and Set ; one to the effect that they were two brothers hostile to the deceased king and to Horus (PT 163, 173, 175), and the other to the effect that Thot was the friend and legal adviser of Horus. This second tradition is the one which prevailed throughout history, down to the time of Plutarch (IO, 54, 3-4 ; 19, 8), beginning even with Horus the Great (PT 830). As to Osiris, Thot was his defender, whence he received the title, " He who made Osiris victorious against his foes." He was the advocate of Osiris before the gods of Heliopolis (PT 1521-3 ; BD (Naville), I, 7-10), as well as in the process involving Horus and Set at Heliopolis in the hall of " the Two Maats " (PT 770, cf. 317), to which Plutarch refers.

[32] As such he was called the " physician of the eye of Horus " (Pap Hearst, XIV, 5-7).

[33] Boylan Thoth, 161.

[34] Gardiner, PSBA, 38, 43-54. In the Greek period, *Śiȝ* was freely used as a name of Thot.

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He also acted as uniter of the parts of the body of Osiris, according to the Pyramid Texts. Later he became the vizier of Osiris (Denderah, II, 33c ; cf. Diodorus, I, 17, 3), and his scribe (BD (Naville), 69, 1-12). He was also the scribe of Rēᶜ, also of Atum. From the very first Rēᶜ and Thot were very closely associated, as sun and moon (PT 128). Thot was a regular companion of Rēᶜ in the solar barque, to protect him against his enemies (BD (Naville), 182, 8), indeed, he was " the heart of the god Rēᶜ " (Budge Legends, 19). With Anubis, Thot was associated in his ministrations to Osiris (PT 830, 796, 130, 976) and against his foe (PT 635). As early as the Old Kingdom, Thot was associated with Seshat, goddess of writing ; and at a late period, with Hathor in the form of *Nḥm.t-ᶜwȝi*, a goddess of law and justice.

There is archaeological evidence that Thot was known and worshipped in the period just before the rise of the dynasties and during the Thinite period, and it is clear that at that time his symbol was the ibis.[35] It is most likely that his original home was in Lower Egypt, and from there he went later to Hermopolis magna in the South. His nome in the Delta was probably the XVth, Hermopolis parva, whose ensign was an ibis, whose capital was *Pr-ḏḥwti*, and which is probably referred to in PT 1271 as *ḫri ḏḥwti*, the " place of Thot ". In the Pyramid Texts also, as god of the West (Delta) he is placed in opposition to Horus as god of the East (PT 157) ;[36] and the *wnw mḥ.t* of PT 191 was, no doubt, Thot's home in the Delta. He most likely was originally a moon-god, with the ibis as his symbol, and after his close association with Osiris he became a god of the dead and of ritual and mortuary ceremonial. Although the name of the god appeared already in the early part of the dynastic period in proper names (Bayer Religion, no. 540), Thot did not become important politically until the Eighteenth Dynasty.

In the theological thought of ancient Egypt, Thot played an important part. Although sometimes said to have been the first-begotten of Rēᶜ, he really was believed to have been self-produced, one of the great primeval gods, lord of earth, air, sea, and sky, and the course of the cosmic order, as Plutarch put it (chapter 55). He was believed to have been the personification of divine intelligence and omniscence. He was the very heart (thought) and

[35] Bayer Religion, nos. 457, 462, 495, 540, 541, and p. 52.

[36] Sethe Urgeschichte, 143 ; cf. Erman, " *Die Entstehung des Thoth* ", Beiträge zur aegyp. Religion, Berlin, 1916.

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tongue (utterance) of Rēᶜ.[37] He was the inventor of writing and the founder of law and the social order ; he was the originator of sacred worship, the founder of the cult of the gods, the builder and decorator of temples and shrines, and lord of magic. From a moral point of view, he very early appeared as a mediator and reconciler among the gods, as a god of justice and righteousness, as " scribe of truth ", " judge of truth ", and " lord of truth ".

Archaeology has shown that the worship of Thot, with his temple, festivals, and offerings was well known as early as the Thinite period, and even earlier in the days of Narmer the ibis-god had a shrine. From then on his worship can be traced. But it was during the time of the New Kingdom that his cult gained its greatest prominence, especially during the Eighteenth Dynasty. We know of a temple of Thot as early as the Second Dynasty, and a shrine in the time of Narmer (Bayer Religion, *passim*), from then on there is evidence of numerous places where he was worshipped.[38] There was a " house of Thot " in the Fourth Dynasty (LD, II, 17), a " place of Thot " in the Pyramid Texts (1271), the temples in Hermopolis (North and South) are frequently mentioned, in the Middle Kingdom many temples of Thot are known, and during the New Kingdom they were numerous. At Philae and in Nubia Thot was very specially venerated, chiefly as an ape in Nubia. During the Ptolemaic period Thot and his cult became very popular.

The god ANUBIS (*'inpw*) was the son of Osiris and Nephthys. According to a tradition preserved by Plutarch (chapters 14 and 38), Nephthys made Osiris drunken and bore him a son, who was Anubis. Another legend (Plutarch, 44) has it that Isis and not Nephthys was the mother of Anubis. He is supposed to have had a wife *'inpw.t* and a son *'iḥi*. But *'iḥi* is usually called the son of Horus and Hathor. His home was Cynopolis (el-Ḳês), in the XVIIth Upper Egyptian nome. He was called " the embalmer " (PT 574, cf. 221c),[39] " lord of the high land " (Meir, IV), " he who is on his hill " (ib.), " lord of Sepa (*śp3*) ", and " opener of the ways ". Besides being the embalmer-god, he was god of the dead, and as such became minister of Osiris and guardian of tombs

[37] In Sethe Memph Theol, Ptah appears as the heart and tongue of the ennead.

[38] For a list of his chief temples and shrines, see Boylan Thoth, 147 ff.

[39] This is a witness against E. Smith's suggestion that embalming was not known until a relatively late date (Amenemhēt, p. 83, n. 1); so are also the Canopic contents of the tomb of Hetep-Heres, mother of Khufu, opened in 1927.

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and cemeteries. He also assisted Osiris in judgment, being assigned the task of weighing the heart. His title of "First of the Westerners" was taken and made famous by Osiris.

Anubis was usually represented either as a man with the head

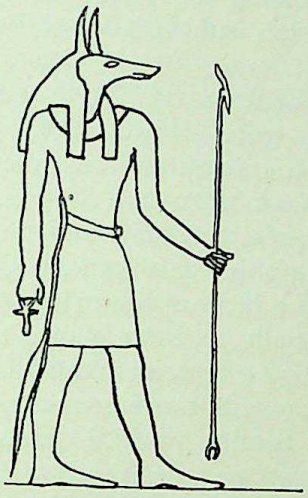

Fig. 29
ANUBIS

of a jackal (or dog),[40] or as a jackal (or dog) couchant.[41] From the time of the Middle Kingdom on he seems to have been represented by a strange symbol, whose origin and meaning are not yet fully known,[42] namely, the skin of a newly-killed ox, spotted black and white, hanging on a pole, and sometimes dripping blood in a vessel.[43] Anubis was at all times closely associated with Osiris; and with Horus, but not as fundamentally. In Greek times he appeared as Hermanubis.

In predynastic and First Dynasty archaeological material the name of Anubis occurs quite often in the form of a jackal or dog—the jackal or dog occurring as a prehistoric nome ensign

[40] There are many extant statues of this form; see Daressy Statues, pp. 409-10.

[41] Cf. Lanzone Diz, pls. 29-30.

[42] See Moret, *Mystères égyptiens*, 1913, chapter I; also Davies, *Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, 1941, p. 22.

[43] Müller Mythology, 111 and n. 62; cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 19.

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(Moret Nile, 52). It occurs also in several personal names.[44] Among the same material we find a reference to a "feast of Anubis",[45] and also apparently to a temple of Anubis. Besides Cynopolis, Sepa (*śp3*), capital of the XVIIIth Upper Egyptian nome, was sacred to Anubis as well as to Horus. Anubis played a very important rôle in the early history of Egyptian religion, especially in connection with Osiris and the idea of death and the underworld.

There is no evidence that PTAH[46] can be placed among the oldest of Egyptian gods. However, his close association with Osiris after the latter's death and resurrection, at Abydos, would show that he was much older than Memphis, of which he became the local god. His real greatness and fame came only after his association with Memphis. His name, *pṯḥ*, sounds like the Hebrew פתח, "to open", and inclines one to see some connection between the two gods, especially as Ptah played such an important rôle in the famous Egyptian ceremony of the "Opening of the Mouth", and particularly because that ceremony had such a marked counterpart in the ancient Semitic world.[47] However, the similarities in words and ceremonies may be merely coincidental. But, on the other hand, it is not altogether impossible, nor even improbable, that the earliest worshippers of Ptah might have been Semites who made

Fig. 30
PTAH

[44] Bayer Religion, p. 518; Petrie, AE, 1914, II, no. 17, p. 67.
[45] See also Palermo Stone, vs. l. 2, no. 1.
[46] See Holmberg Ptah.
[47] Blackman, "The Rite of Opening the Mouth in ancient Egypt and Babylonia", JEA, 10 (1924), 47-59.

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their way into Egypt, as others did before them, and were led by a person or god whom they called " the opener ", or " opener of the way ". The fact that he was always represented in human form, except in later grotesque combinations, instead of in animal form,[48] favours a Semitic origin. As a rule he was pictured as a bearded man in the form of a primitive idol, with a garment closely binding him from neck to foot, shaven head, and holding a sceptre compounded of the three symbols *ꜥnh*, *ḏd*, and *wȝs*.[49]

What the original attributes of Ptah were it is impossible to state. Because of the possible meaning of his name, " the opener ", he may have been originally a leader-god. But his chief attributes as a god of the dead, which gave him his characteristic mummified-form, came to him only after his association with Osiris. As a great god, and especially of a great city, he was regarded by his people as creator of all things, gods as well as mankind and all the world.[50] At a very much later time he was identified, or closely associated with Nun, the original water-abyss, and called Ptah-Nun. Throughout his career he was called, " lord of justice ", " king of Both Lands ", " creator of art ", " the lifter-up of heaven ", " creator of the gods ",[51] and " lord of fish ".[52] The only native god with whom Ptah was really identified was Ta-ṯenen (*tȝ-ṯnn*), " the uplifted earth ", an earth-god. The identification of Ptah with Ta-ṯenen, who seems to have been a personification of the earth, mound, or hill which arose out of Nun (the great primeval abyss) and on which Atum first found a place for his feet, would give expression to the cosmic rôle of Ptah as the original out of which all gods and living beings were made, and as, himself, the creator and maker of all.[53] In Greek times Ptah was identified with Hephaistos, and by the Romans with Vulcan. He was first of all associated with Osiris and then with Soker. Indeed, the three together were regarded, in the course of time (as early as the Middle Kingdom) as a single deity, called, Ptah-Soker-Osiris, who was represented as a bandy-legged dwarf, clean-shaven, and often with a scarab upon his head. Sometimes he appeared

[48] See Daressy Statues and Lanzone Diz, *passim*. Apis as a beast sacred to Ptah is late.

[49] See Stolk, *Ptah*, Berlin, 1911, *passim*.

[50] See Roeder Urkunden, pp. 166-8.

[51] Roeder Urkunden, p. 55.

[52] Budge Gods, I, 146.

[53] See Roeder Urkunden, pp. 166-8; cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, *passim*; also above chapter II.

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as a bearded mummiform figure, crowned with two feathers, solar disk, and ram's horns. He was a funerary god. Ptah was also sometimes associated with Ḥapi, the Nile-god.

Fig. 31
PTAH-SOKER-OSIRIS

There is no archaeological evidence of Ptah in prehistoric times, nor is there any certain evidence of him in the earliest dynastic period,[54] unless the figure on the inscribed bowl in grave 231 at Ṭarkhân of the First Dynasty be that of Ptah.[55] Even in the Pyramid Texts he occurs only three times (560, 566, 1482) ; although the original of the *Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie*, certainly much older than the Pyramid Texts, is full of Ptah and the theology of his city, Memphis.[56] Nor has he any symbol of his own, except his connection through Osiris with the *ḏd*.[57] This marks him off from all other prehistoric gods, all of whom had symbols, which were originally connected with their nome, or city, or both. Nevertheless, tradition seems to demand that we consider Ptah as a prehistoric though perhaps late prehistoric god, closely associated with Osiris after his death at the hand of Set, and possibly of foreign origin.[58] The period of his greatest popularity was the Nineteenth Dynasty,

[54] Bayer Religion rightly doubts it ; see Bayer, p. 520, and nos. 507, 518.

[55] See Petrie Tarkhan, 12.

[56] Besides being head of the Memphite ennead (Sethe Memph Theol), he appears already on the Palermo Stone (rv. 3.5) in his usual mummified form, holding in his two hands the *w3ś*-sceptre (see Stolk, *Ptah*, Berlin, 1911, 51).

[57] By the time of Seti I *ḏd šps*, " the glorious *ḏd* " was identified with Ptah, cf. Holmberg Ptah, pp. 157 ff.

[58] In addition to what has been noted about a possible Semitic origin, an article by H. L. Ginsberg should be consulted, " The Egyptian god Ptah in Ugaritic Mythology ? ", *Orientalia*, 9 (1940), fasc. 1-2, 39-44.

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when he was made the father of the pharaoh and associated with Rēᶜ and Amūn in the government of the whole universe.[59]

In a later chapter, the different Egyptian systems of theology, including that of Ptah of Memphis, will be described. Suffice it here to say that the theologians of Memphis believed Ptah to have been the oldest of all gods, who was self-created, male and female in one, the father and mother of mankind. His agents in creation were Horus and Thot ; Horus being his heart or thought, and Thot being his tongue or word.

The centre of the worship of Ptah in Egypt was Memphis, where, it seems, a temple to Ptah was built by Menes. This temple remained throughout the centuries, and was extended by Psamtik I of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, who worshipped Ptah under the form of the Apis-bull, for which he built the Serapeum of Memphis, which became so famous among the Greeks. Herodotus (II, 99) preserved a tradition to the effect that the first god to whom a temple was erected was Ptah of Memphis. This, no doubt, has reference to the great temple in Memphis.

KHNUM was an old local god of the First Cataract, where the sources of the Nile were at one time believed to be situated. As he was fundamentally associated with several places, especially with Elephantiné at the First Cataract, Esneh, Hypselis, and Antinoe, and at each place had quite different functions and associations, it is difficult to decide whether there were many totally different Khnums, or whether different places adored the same Khnum.[60] The name means " to create " (*ḫmnw*), and would seem to indicate that his attribute as a creator-god may have been original ; in other words, that he was originally a creator-god, located at Elephantiné—creator, not only of gods and men, but also of the Nile, with the waters of which he always was so closely related. His consort was the frog-goddess, Ḥeḳet (*ḥḳ.t*), who was later replaced by Satis (*sṯ.t*).

Khnum bore the titles " fashioner of men ", " maker of the gods ", " the father who was in the beginning ", " maker of things which are, definer of things which shall be ", " father of the fathers of gods and goddesses ", " maker of heaven and earth and the underworld, and of water and the mountains ", " raiser up of heaven on its four pillers ", " lord of Philae ", " the divine ram of Rēᶜ ".[61]

[59] Cf. Moret Nile, 356.
[60] See A. M. Badawi, *Der Gott Chnum*, Glückstadt, 1937, 49.
[61] Budge Fetish, 173, 256.

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At Elephantiné, he was called " lord of the cool water ", sometimes having four ram's horns, symbolizing, perhaps, the four supposed sources of the Nile ; at Philae he was believed to have made mankind out of clay on a potter's wheel ; and at Antinoe, he was patron of women in child-birth. A late legend tells how Khnum withheld the waters of the Nile until his sanctuary and priesthood were properly provided for.[62] He was usually represented as a man with the head of a ram ; he appears also as a man with a four-

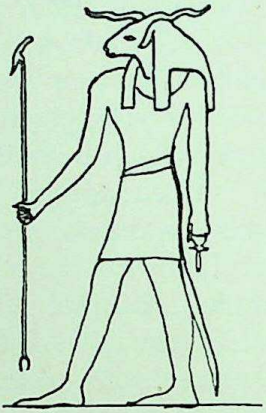

Fig. 32
KHNUM

fold ram's head. As a water-god, he was represented with outstretched hands over which flows water ; he also appeared with a jug above his head, the hieroglyph of his name.[63] Khnum seems to have become identified with Rē^{c}, for his ram became the " living soul of Rē^{c} ; and also with Horus, for he appeared with a falcon's head (Lanzone Diz, pl. 336, 4) ; and perhaps also with Nun and Ḥapi, for obvious reasons ; and likewise also with Shu. He was associated with Ptah and Thot, also with Horus, in the work of creation. His symbol was the flat-horned ram.

Khnum is represented archaeologically as early as the First Dynasty (Petrie RT, I, pl. 23, no. 42), and his name appears six times in the Pyramid Texts. Although all great gods were considered in some sense, creator-gods, Khnum, as well as Ptah, was especially revered as such. The chief places of the worship of Khnum were Elephantiné, Esneh, Hypselis, and Antinoe ; other

[62] Budge Legends, lx-lxviii, and 120-41.
[63] Lanzone Diz, pls. 336-7.

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places were Ombos, Edfu, Thebes, Dendera, Herakleopolis, probably also at Lake Moeris, and in Nubia, at Philae, Debod, Dendur, Dakke, and Kumme.

In prehistoric Egypt KHONSU could not have been a very important god for he played no part in the affairs of Horus, Set, Osiris and Rē^{c}, although, as a moon-god, one might naturally think of him as having held some place in them. His name would seem to be derived from the root *ḫns*, " to pass through ", or " to traverse", an appropriate name for a moon-god. At Thebes he became the son of Amūn and Mut. Khonsu was known as " lord of truth ", " giver of oracles ", " the child ", " lord of gladness ".[64] According to the famous *Legend of Khonsu, Nefer-Ḥetep and the Princess of Bekhten*,[65] Khonsu was later represented as having the power to cast out devils and to exorcise evil spirits. But his chief attribute was that of a moon-god. He is usually represented as a young man, wearing

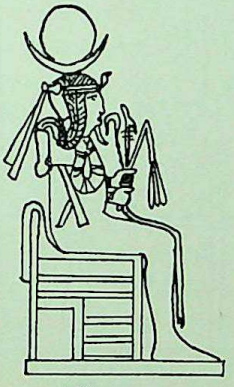

Fig. 33
KHONSU

the side lock of youth, with a lunar disk and crescent on his head ; or as a falcon-headed man with the same head-dress. In one form he appears as a man with two hawks' heads, one facing to the right and the other to the left, with four wings, and with each foot upon the head of a crocodile (Lanzone Diz, pl. 341). He was chiefly identified with Thot, as a moon-god, especially at Hermonthis magna and at Edfu, although not usually so until the New Kingdom ; at Thebes, Khonsu and Shu were identified. He was associated at

[64] Cf. Boylan Thot, 206-7.
[65] Budge Legends, lii-lx, and 106-19.

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Thebes, as third member of a triad, with Amūn and Mut. The names Khonsu-Rēᶜ and Khonsu-Horus are also known, indicating a certain close relationship between these gods.

Archaeology knows nothing of a prehistoric Khonsu, nor does his name occur with certainty in the Pyramid Texts.[66] He was, therefore, one of the latest of the great gods. The principal temple of Khonsu was at Thebes, where Rameses III built the famous " House of Khonsu in Thebes ". He had shrines at various places, especially at Edfu and at Hermopolis, and his barques and priests are mentioned (BAR, III, 431, 341). His Greek equivalent was Herakles.

A very old god of the dead, in Memphis, besides Ptah, was SOKER. In late times he was called a son of Horus, perhaps because he was represented sometimes as a man with the head of a

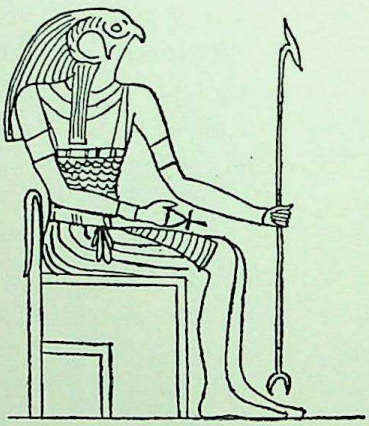

Fig. 34
SOKER

falcon, also as a primitive idol in the form of a falcon. He was primarily a god of the dead and particularly of the necropolis of Memphis. As god of the dead, he was identified first (in prehistoric times) with Osiris at Abydos, then with Ptah of Memphis, and then with both, making the compound god, Ptah-Soker-Osiris. Already in the Pyramid Texts, the name Soker appears as just another name for Osiris (620),[67] and in Ptolemaic times the two were completely identified, Soker, becoming a mere shadow of Osiris, especially

[66] The reading *ḫnsw* in PT 480d is highly questionable ; and *ḫnsw* in PT 402a may be only the name of an individual.

[67] Cf. also BD (Naville), 141-3 ; 65 ; Denderah, 4, 75 ; Rochem, I, 165.

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at Dendera and Edfu. Then at Memphis Osiris and Serapis displaced him. He was closely associated with Rēᶜ in Heliopolis during the New Kingdom.

His association with Osiris, no doubt, began in prehistoric times, although archaeology has found no early clue of him. However, he occurs often in the Pyramid Texts. His temple was at Memphis, where there was held a festival in his honour, a litany chanted in his name, and a barque for his processions on the Nile. He was worshipped in many other places in Egypt, but especially at Abydos in the temple of Osiris.[68]

Archaeology of the prehistoric and early dynastic period tells us nothing about SEBEK, although he is mentioned several times in the Pyramid Texts. He was called the son of Neit. Sebek was a water-god, and his symbol was the crocodile. When the canals dried up the crocodile wandered about the fields and swamps to eat and kill whatsoever came into its way. Consequently he was regarded as a destructive creature, and the god whom he symbolized assumed the same characteristic. He was, therefore, often considered the personification of death and of the powers of evil, and so became the associate of Set. His home was considered to have been the Faiyûm, and so received the title, " lord of the Faiyûm Sometimes he was identified with Rēᶜ, and called " lord of *bꜣḫw* ", the mythical mountain of the rising of the sun.[69] He was represented either as a man with the head of a crocodile, or simply as a crocodile.

Fig. 35
SEBEK

[68] Cf. " Sokar " by Roeder in Roscher Lex.
[69] Sahurēᶜ, II, 75.

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In one case, he appeared as a child being nursed by his mother the goddess Neit (Lanzone Diz, pl. 355, no. 2). Besides Crocodilopolis in the Faiyûm he was held sacred at Ombos, at Thebes, and near Lake Moeris ; but in some parts of Egypt crocodiles were feared and killed (Herod., II, 69-70).

The war-god MONTU was an old local god of Hermonthis. He is mentioned three times in the Pyramid Texts. He was called " bull of the mighty arm " (BAR, IV, 880), " lord of Armant (Hermonthis) " (ib., 547), " lord of Thebes " (ib., I, 510), " king of the gods " (Budge Gods, II, 25). He was a Horus god, and in the Pyramid Texts an astral deity (724, cf. 147).[70] He personified the destructive heat of the sun (cf. AZ, 53 (1917), 81 ff.), and as such was identified with Rēᶜ, being called Montu-Rēᶜ, " lord of battle " (Mond Armant Temples, 158). At a late period the bull of Montu was called " the soul of Rēᶜ ", for Montu was sometimes worshipped under the form of a man with the head of a bull (cf. Mond Armant Temples, 158). He was usually represented as a man with a falcon's head (once with two falcons' heads side by side, Lanzone Diz, pl. 119, no. 3) surmounted by a solar disk, *uraeus*-serpent and two tall plumes. As a war-god, beginning with the Eleventh Dynasty, represented with a bull's head, he carried bow and arrows, a club, and a knife. In falcon, or Rēᶜ form, he stands on the prow of the sun-boat, on the

Fig. 36
MONTU

[70] Cf. Bisson de la Roque, " Note sur le dieu Montou ", Bulletin, 40 (1941), 1-49.

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journey through the Dwat, and slays the demons with his lance. Montu had two consorts, Teneniyt and Iuniyt (Mond Armant Temples, 158-9). His chief seat was at Hermonthis, but he was also adored at Thebes, Edfu, and Dendera, and priests of him, as well as of Montu-Rēᶜ are mentioned (BAR, II, 352 ; IV, 660).

The fourth pair of the ogdoad of Hermopolis magna was the air[71] and wind god AMŪN and his consort Amūnet.[72] During the Herakleopolitan régime Amūn was adored ; but when Thebes prevailed, Amūn followed the victors to the Theban nome, whose capital then was Hermonthis, and not yet the city of Thebes.[73] There he displaced Montu, and when the city of Thebes became the capital he established himself in it. In the Middle Kingdom, with the capital firmly established at Thebes Amūn became completely identified with the old state-god Rēᶜ, as the famous and mighty AMŪN-RĒᶜ,[74] and by the New Kingdom he had absorbed all the characteristics and attributes of Rēᶜ, becoming himself the state-god, Amūn-Rēᶜ, and the physical father of the reigning king, just as Rēᶜ had been. Indeed, the complete solar doctrine of Rēᶜ was now applied to Amūn-Rēᶜ.

The name Amūn (*'imn*) is generally thought to mean, " what is hidden ", " what is not seen ", as references in his hymns clearly show (e.g. " Hymn to Amūn-Rēᶜ ", Budge Fetish, 409-14, where it says, p. 411, " thy name is hidden from his children in his (i.e. thy) name of Amūn "). In later times, the name seems to have been connected with the root *mn*, " to abide ", " to remain ", " to be permanent, eternal ", in accordance with the idea of his everlastingness. He seems to have been given an artificial consort, Amūnet ; but Amūnet may have merely been a title of his real spouse, Mut, the *nb.t tȝ.wi*, " mistress of the Two Lands ".[75] His son was Khonsu. The many hymns and prayers to Amūn, or

[71] See on the contrary Spiegelberg, ÄZ, 49 (1911), 127.

[72] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 164.

[73] See Sethe Amūn, *passim* ; see on the contrary Wainwright, JEA, 17 (1931), 152.

[74] During the reign of the first king of the Twelfth Dynasty, Amenemhēt I, the first monument, so far as we know, was set up and dedicated to Amūn as Amūn-Rēᶜ, in the temple of Ptah at Karnak (BAR, I, 484). Thenceforth, Amūn-Rēᶜ gradually gained supreme authority over all the gods of Egypt, and by the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties that authority, except in one short reign, was undisputed.

[75] Gayet, *Le Temple de Louxor*, Paris, 1894, pl. IX, etc. Wainwright, *Sky-religion*, thinks the name may be Libyan, and may have been connected with water, pp. 13, 21-2.

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Amūn-Rēᶜ,[76] besides other inscriptions, contain references to the numerous titles and attributes of the god. Among his titles are: "Creator of that which exists", "father of the gods", "maker of men and creator of animals", "king of the gods", "lord of kings", "the great god,[77] the beginning of what has come into being", "lord of the sky", "bull of his mother", "lord of the thrones of the Two Lands in Thebes", "lord of Karnak", "bull of Heliopolis", "Amūn of the road". As to his attributes: When he came into being nothing else existed; he was self-created; all gods came into being after him; he had neither mother nor father; he shaped his own egg; he mingled his seed with his own body, he was hidden as Amūn at the head of the gods, he was one; his name was unknown to gods and men; he was lord of time; he broke spells, expelled sickness, he heard prayers, he prolonged or shortened men's lives.[78] He was especially connected with the phenomena of air, light,[79] and perhaps also water.[80] As a war-god, he became great and powerful during the Eighteenth Dynasty. In short, all the qualities of Rēᶜ were gradually ascribed to Amūn-Rēᶜ,[81] and the solar attributes became more and more pronounced as time went on, while lunar worship was associated with Khonsu. And having been closely associated and even identified with Min he assumed also his attributes, especially that of physical reproduction. In later time, the more metaphysical aspects of his attributes were stressed, emphasizing the invisible and hidden connotation of his name. He was referred to as the soul-god of creation, "the being endowed with a soul"; and in Demotic texts he was made to represent the πνεῦμα, or breath of life; while in Jamblichus (§ VIII, chapter III) he was the demiurgic intellect who created truth and wisdom, the Ptah who perfected all things, and the Osiris who made goodness.

The earliest symbol of Amūn was perhaps the goose, which may have had the origin of its use in the similarity of the word for goose, *śmn*, to that of Amūn, *'imn*; but after the beginning of the

[76] See Erman-Blackman Literature, *passim*; Budge Fetish, *passim*; and BAR, *passim*.

[77] The term "great god" was also, in early times, applied to the king.

[78] Gardiner, ÄZ, 42 (1905), 12 f.; cf. Budge Fetish, 17-18; Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Déir-el-baharî*, Paris, 1887, 594 f.

[79] Cf. Spiegelberg, ÄZ, 49 (1911), 127-8; Erman Leid Amonshymnus, O, 90, 4.

[80] See Wainwright, JEA, 20 (1934), 139-53.

[81] Cf. Erman Leid Amonshymnus, *passim*.

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New Kingdom his dominant symbol was a ram.[82] Amūn-Rēᶜ (or Amūn) was usually represented as a bearded man wearing a cap surmounted by two tall plumes, from the back of which hangs a cord, holding in one hand the *wȝś* and in the other the *ᶜnḫ*;

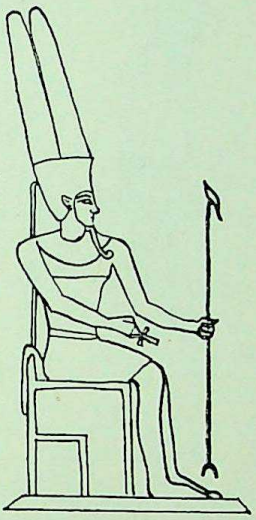

Fig. 37
AMŪN

or as a ram. When represented in human form he has blue skin. His earliest statues exactly imitated those of Min, being blue-black, and ithyphallic,[83] with one arm upraised. He was also often represented as a man with the head of a ram. He appeared also as a man with the head of a falcon, also as a man with the head of a *uraeus*. He appeared also in the form of a lion, an ape, a serpent, and ithyphallic in form. Many gods were identified or associated with Amūn-Rēᶜ (or Amūn), especially with Amūn as Amūn-Rēᶜ.[84] The

[82] Cf. Müller Mythology, 402, n. 4; Lefebvre Prêtres, *passim*, and Lefebvre Prêtres Inscr., *passim*.

[83] His phallic attributes, as well as the two tall plumes of his head-dress, came no doubt from his identification with Min. In his ithyphallic form, he was known as Amūnapet (*'imn-'ipt*), and was identified with Horus (Sethe Amūn, 114). Indeed Amūn himself was considered the soul of Horus (Erman Religion, 95). Later Amūnapet became an independent god, always represented in ithyphallic form (Sethe Amūn, 26; cf. Bucheum, II, 7, III, pl. XLI, A 9, 10).

[84] See Budge Gods, *passim*.

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chief of these were Montu[85] and Min[86]. In Greek times he was *'Αμονρασωνθήρ* and identified with Zeus, and in the Roman world he was Jupiter.

Fig. 38
AMŪN-RĒ[c]

It is impossible to say whether the original home of Amūn was Hermopolis, where we first meet him. Naville would have him come from Arabia and Bates from Libya. Bates refers to classical legends which connect his origin with Libya,[87] but neither archaeological research nor native sources furnish means of solving the problem. In the earliest inscriptions there is no mention of Amūn, and in the Pyramid Texts he occurs only three times with fair certainty, and a fourth time with some doubt. In 446c, Amūn and Amūnet are included among the primeval gods; in 1540 " the throne of Amūn " is referred to, presumably in Hermopolis; in 1712b where he is mentioned with Min, with whom he had much in common; but questionably in 1095b where the form is *'imnw*. And, strange to say, his name does not occur in any of the oldest copies of the Theban recension of the Book of the Dead. But that obviously does not prove anything. It is certain that by the Middle Kingdom he was most powerful in Thebes, when half

[85] See Junker Onurislegende, 32 ff.
[86] See Wainwright, JEA, 17 (1931), 152, 185.
[87] Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, London, 1914, 189-90.

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of the kings were called by his name; and by the Eighteenth Dynasty he was supreme, under his title "king of the gods". Until the time of Amenophis IV of this dynasty the attributes of Rēᶜ and Min were nicely balanced in the personality of Amūn; but after the restoration, following the defection of that pharaoh, under the name of Ikhnaton, the attributes of Rēᶜ were emphasized. From the time of Rameses II on the high-priest of Amūn-Rēᶜ became the greatest personage in the royal household, and in the reign of the last Rameses the crown actually passed from the head of the pharaoh to that of Amūn's high priest, commander of the armies, Herihor. Then as far as Egypt was concerned Amūn became a universal god; and by the time of the Nubian (Ethiopian) kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty the oracle of Amūn had been long established as a guide in political affairs. At the destruction of Thebes in 663, Osiris took the place of Amūn; but in Ptolemaic times Amūn reappeared as a royal god. However, so far as the common people were concerned, Amūn was not as important as Osiris, and not much more so than Amenhotep, son of Hapu, now regarded as a god.

The theology of Amūn (Amūn-Rēᶜ) will be fully outlined in the chapter on theological systems. It is, therefore, perhaps sufficient here to say that, according, especially, to the great Amūn-hymn published by Erman,[88] Amūn, after raising himself out of the great primeval watery abyss, like Atum, appeared in the form of the eight gods of Hermopolis (N 80, 1). All gods were proud to own Amūn as their begetter (Q 200, 1). Then at the rising of the gods, mankind came into being (A 9, 2). Although his name was a hidden one (Q 200, 7), he appeared as a sun-god giving light to the world (Q 90, 4). Amūn created many gods, but they were all manifested in three gods, Amūn, Rēᶜ, and Ptah (-ṭenen), who are but one (Q 200, 2). As Amūn was "lord of truth", his city Thebes was "the city of truth" (W 800, 1). He cared for all mankind, everywhere (A 1, E 2, F 1, B 2); he gave ready and effective help in time of need (F 70, 3); and he responded to those who besought him (F 70, 1). Many were the hymns in his praise and prayers addressed to him.[89] He had those who worshipped him in all cities (K 4).[90] His chief sanctuaries were at Karnak

[88] Erman Leid Amonshymnus, *passim*.

[89] Cf. Erman-Blackman Literature, *passim*.

[90] See, for the principal sites of his cult, Lanzone Diz, pp. 35 ff.; Budge Gods, II, 22.

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and Luxor in Thebes. The worship of Amūn-Rēᶜ was introduced into Nubia as early as the Middle Kingdom, and flourished greatly there, especially when Napata became a second Thebes; and it spread to Syria under the war-like Kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Wherever there were Egyptians, and the might and influence of Egypt, there Amūn was supreme. When Egypt was great, he was great; when Egypt fell, he fell. He was truly Egypt's Imperial God.

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CHAPTER IX

ATON, THE GOD OF IKHNATON

IN the rock-tombs of Tell el-Amarna there are many hymns and prayers to Aton, or to Aton as the king.[1] The greatest, longest, and most beautiful of these compositions is inscribed in the grave of the priest Ai (Eye). The shorter hymns and prayers seem to have been abridged from, or based upon this long hymn. There seems to be so many variations and changes in the contents of what appears to be duplicate passages in these compositions that it is fair to presume that we do not possess originals of them. Nor is there any means of determining their authorship. It is sometimes assumed that the great hymn to the Aton was written by the king, Ikhnaton, himself, but about this there is no certainty.

The creator and patron of the Aton religion was Amenophis IV, who changed his name to Ikhnaton. The mummy of this Pharaoh is supposed to have been buried in Tell el-Amarna, but later transferred to Thebes and placed in the tomb of his mother Queen Tiy, whose body was removed. This tomb was discovered in 1907, and the mummy was examined and declared to be that of Ikhnaton. But the identification is not certain. However, it is generally thought that Amenophis IV was not much more than ten years of age when he came to the throne, that he reigned about sixteen years, and died when he was about twenty-six, and that he changed his name to Ikhnaton in about the sixth or eighth year of his reign. It seems that between the fifth and sixth years of his reign he celebrated the famous *Śed*-festival.[2] He was crowned at Hermonthis, the Heliopolis of the South.[3] He adopted a cartouche, or rather two, for his god, Aton, whom he called the "good god"[4]; added to his own cartouche the phrase, "brilliance which is in the

[1] The literature on this subject is copious. The hymns and prayers have been published by N. de G. Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, I-VI, London, 1903-8. The most important of the hymns have been translated many times, and may be conveniently found in Budge Fetish, 402 ff.; Breasted Development, 324 ff.

[2] Cf. Griffith, JEA, 5 (1918), 61-3; also below chapter XX.

[3] See texts collected in Schaefer, *Die Religion und die Kunst von El-Amarna*, Berlin, 1923; Weigall, *The Life and Times of Akhnaton*, London, 1910.

[4] Cf. Gunn, JEA, 9 (1923), 168 f.

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disk", and changed the royal title "Horus of the both horizons" to "ruler of the two light-mountains". By the sixth year of his reign he was established in his new capital, Akhetaton (modern Tell el-Amarna), "Horizon of Aton", for which he forsook Thebes, when he broke with the religion of Amūn.[5]

In the fifth year of his reign he was still called Amenophis, but during the sixth year he began to be called Ikhnaton (*3ḫ(w)-n-'itn*),[6] which may be translated, "it is well with Aton", "Aton is satisfied", "he in whom Aton is satisfied", and possibly "brilliance of Aton".[7] Ikhnaton took as his god Aton, although this god was known as early as the time of Thutmose IV.[8] The word *'itn*[9] means "sun", "sun-disk", and, standing for the sun by day, can be traced back to the Middle Kingdom.

Ikhnaton was grandson of Thutmose IV and Mutemuya daughter of Artatama of Mitanni. The son of Thutmose IV and Mutemuya, namely, Amenophis III married a daughter of Yuaa and Thuia, by name Tiy. Ikhnaton was the son of Amenophis III and Tiy. Consequently, the paternal grandmother of Ikhnaton was a Mitannian princess, and so, perhaps, also were his grandparents on his mother's side. At least they were probably aliens, possibly Hittites.[10] Then Ikhnaton himself married Taduḫiba, daughter of the Mitannian king, Tušratta. Petrie thinks Taduḫiba was known in Egypt under the name Nefertiti.[11] On the other hand, so far as we certainly know, Nefertiti may have been a second wife. In any case, there was a strong Asiatic strain in the family of Ikhnaton. His mother Tiy was a woman of very strong character, and it has been thought that for a brief period, at least, she was all-powerful, and may even have ruled at Tell el-Amarna.[12] Consequently, the religious ideas of Ikhnaton, which we are to outline in this chapter, may well have been coloured, and perhaps more

[5] Schaefer has refuted Borchardt's attempt to prove that Akhetaton was founded as far back as Thutmose IV.

[6] Schaefer, "Die Anfänge der Reformation Amenophis des IV", SPA, 1919, 477-84; cf. Gunn, JEA, 9 (1923), 171; Davies, JEA, 9 (1923), 139.

[7] Cf. Gunn, JEA, 9 (1923), 176, and n. 6.

[8] Bannister and Plenderleith, JEA, 22 (1936), 3-6.

[9] Petrie would connect Aton with Adon, "lord"; and Hommel would see in the Canaanite name Ḫinnatuni a cuneiform equivalent of ᶜAin-atôn, "well of Aton" (Grundriss, 845 A 1, 1007).

[10] Cf. Nora Griffith, JEA, 9 (1923), 78 f.

[11] Petrie, Tell elA-marna, London, 1894, 207.

[12] Petrie, *op. cit.*, 207.

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deeply influenced by Mitannian and, maybe also, Hittite thought. Pictures and statues of him represent a man frail and abnormal

Fig. 39
IKHNATON

in physique, with a deformed head, feminine hips, and perhaps also a cripple.[13] It seems he had a family of six daughters, the second of whom died before her father.

While Ikhnaton himself was called " the beautiful child of the Aton ", the god Aton himself bore the titles, " the living and sole god ", " lord of every land ", " lord of eternity ".[14] In the early part of the reign of Ikhnaton, the sun by day, Aton, was represented as a man with the head of a falcon, above which was a great red disk, adorned with a uraeus in profile. Thus, Aton was " Harachte, Shu who is Aton ". Later, the human body and the falcon's head disappeared, and Aton was then represented by a great red disk, seen from the front, with the uraeus in the centre of the lower edge, and the disk having long rays spread out fanwise, terminating in human hands, which grasp the signs of life and strength.[15] As early as the Pyramid Age the rays of the sun were likened to arms (PT 324).[16] Accordingly it is important to note that no statue

[13] Schaefer, ÄZ, 52 (1915), 73-87 ; Nora Griffith, JEA, 9 (1923), 78.

[14] Davies Rock Tombs, IV, pls. 32, 33, and VI, pl. 27.

[15] Cf. Couyat-Montet Hamm, pl. XXIII.

[16] In 1938 Selem Bey Hassan published an article (Annales, 38 (1938), 53-61) in which he described and discussed a stela of the time of Amenophis II, recently found by him in the Mud-built Temple at Gizeh. On it was inscribed a solar-disk with human hands and arms and the form of Horus of Behdet. As the author of this article shows, the Aton was a development of the old Sun-god of Heliopolis. Indeed, Atonism was fairly well developed by the time of Amenophis II and his successor Thutmose IV.

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of Aton was ever made, and though human hands were attached to the rays, the age-long custom of representing a god in human or animal form was abandoned.

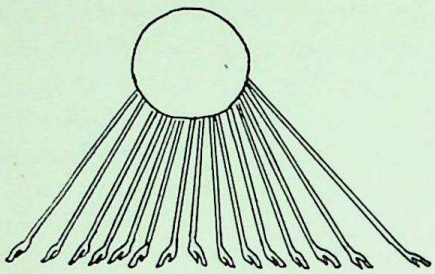

Fig. 40
ATON

Like Moses and Jesus, Ikhnaton did not create a new religion. He turned the stream of religious thought into new channels; he gave new meaning to old religious ideas; and he impressed his own personality upon already-existing religious phenomena. His contribution to religious thought was not as much a dehumanization of the object of worship, as it was an emphasis upon the power and character of the sun as the source and protector of all. The religion of the Aton was a condensed and concentrated sun-worship. But the great historic home of sun-worship in ancient Egypt was Heliopolis, and the sun-god was Rē^{c}. And so with Rē^{c} Ikhnaton never really broke. Indeed, there is reason to believe with G. F. Moore[17] that the Aton movement began at Heliopolis, and, as *'itn* was the sun by day, it was natural that Ikhnaton should have used the title of Rē^{c}, namely, Rē^{c}-Harachte,[18] Rē^{c} between the two horizons, to describe the Aton. Moreover, Atonism, in its undeveloped form, is a very old aspect of sun-worship. The forerunner of Rē^{c} was Atum, represented as a man with an *$^{c}nḫ* in his right hand; and Rē^{c} himself was called the "dweller in his disk (*'itn*)", his symbol was a disk around which was coiled a uraeus, and this disk of the sun, as we have already seen, was one of the prehistoric nome ensigns.[19] There is much evidence to show, also, that the term *'itn* was used in reference to the sun-god before the

[17] G. F. Moore, *History of Religions*, I, New York, 1913, 182.

[18] Ikhnaton called himself "high priest of Rē^{c}-Harachte", Moret Nile, p. 320.

[19] Petrie Making, pl. XXVII, 118, E 16 and M 17.

State Museum,
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time of Ikhnaton.[20] And in addition to that, there is definite proof in a scarab of Thutmose IV that the Aton was already regarded as a separate and distinct form of the sun-god and that he was actually worshipped as a god of battle, making all mankind his subjects.[21] That is, the god Aton, before the time of Ikhnaton, was a sun-god, and as such was identified with Rēᶜ, nor did Ikhnaton ever forget Rēᶜ, whose prestige, during his reign, remained unblemished; and he was careful to show in his first cartouche his devotion to Rēᶜ. Moreover, when Amūn became identified with Rēᶜ at Thebes, becoming Amūn-Rēᶜ, with emphasis on Rēᶜ, the religion of Amūn-Rēᶜ became a real sun-religion, and the god, Amūn-Rēᶜ, became the "only one with many hands", like Aton.[22] But it was Amūn of Thebes who was the *bête noire* of Ikhnaton. From its rise during the Herakleopolitan régime, through the Middle Kingdom when Amūn became completely identified with Rēᶜ, until the time of Thutmose III, the religion of Amūn grew steadily in power and influence. Amūn became first among all the gods, and all the priesthoods of Egypt were merged into one great sacerdotal organization with the high priest of Amūn at the head. This, no doubt, was in some quarters resented, and a reform movement, before the time of Ikhnaton, had already begun.[23] There is abundant evidence of this in the time of Ikhnaton's father, Amenophis III. Egypt's imperial age, at the height of its splendour in the time of Amenophis III, created in men's minds a wider and fuller vision of the world and of the sun-god's realm. A hymn to both Amūn and Aton by two chief-architects of the reign of Amenophis III foreshadows the very core and central ideas contained in the hymns to the Aton of the reign of Ikhnaton.[24] Here Aton is placed side by side with Amūn and begins to occupy more and more the thoughts of men. There is no break between the two gods. It was Ikhnaton who brought that about. But Aton is claiming more and more attention. A reform is beginning and already getting under way. An old word for the sun, Aton, became more and more popular. It connoted the heat and warmth of the sun, its brilliance, its life-giving power, the universal

[20] E.g. Urkunden, IV, 82; Mar Ab, II, 25, 12; Sinuhe, B 7, 213; Lacau Sarc, I, 225, 9.

[21] Shorter, in JEA, 17 (1931), 23.

[22] Pap Boul, 17; cf. Erman Religion, 107; Kees Kulturgeschichte, 331.

[23] Cf. ÄZ, 59 (1924), 109 ff.; CAH, II, 205.

[24] Budge Fetish, 414-17.

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reach of its life-giving (ᶜnḫ) rays. The Aton was the sun, especially its disk with rays.[25] The name became popular. Amenophis called his royal barge, "Aton gleams"; a company of his body-guard bore the name of Aton; the king himself adopted the titles, "dawning like Aton", "the shining Aton"; the cult of Aton was established; a chapel to him seems to have been dedicated at Heliopolis; and he was already designated as "the sole god" by the two chief-architects. And the same "atonic" terms were even applied to Amūn-Rēᶜ, during the same reign, for it was said of him, "thou art the unique one; thou hast many arms; thou dost direct thine arms towards him whom thou lovest".[26] In the time of Amenophis III, Thebes was called the "city of the brightness of Aton", the temple quarter was known as the "brightness of Aton, the great", and there was a temple of Aton called "Gem-Aton".[27] This was the state of religious thought which Ikhnaton inherited from his father, Amenophis. But Ikhnaton was an altogether different man from his father. He was abnormal, intense, intolerant, arrogant, obstinate, high-strung, poetic, artistic, deeply religious, in a word, he was a fanatic. He took Aton as his god, and Amūn became the object of his wrath, for Amūn was his only serious obstacle. His religion became, then, a reaction against the cult of Amūn. With Ikhnaton began the struggle between the priesthood of Amūn and the royal house.[28] Ikhnaton favoured the sun-god in opposition to Amūn. The antagonism which developed was both religious and political. The priests of Amūn accused the king of heresy, and by the sixth year of his reign the king had abandoned the worship of Amūn and definitely adopted Aton as his god, determining to make him sole god of the empire. Consequently, he caused to be erected a temple to Aton in Thebes. But opposition must have been great and effective for he soon decided to leave Thebes and establish a new royal city, farther north, which he called Akhetaton. However, his anger at first was primarily directed against Amūn. Amūn-Rēᶜ, and the ancient gods, Horus, Set, Osiris, Hathor, were left undisturbed for a time. As the essence of his religion was sun-worship, first Rēᶜ, and then Rēᶜ-Harachte served to express his emotions, but soon the disk of the sun, whose rays, transmitted through the atmosphere

[25] LD, III, 91g.
[26] Moret Nile, 320.
[27] Erman Religion, 110.
[28] Cf. CAH, II, 112 f.

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deity, Shu, was believed to be a purer expression of the sun's divinity.[29] So the Aton became Ikhnaton's god. Then began the fanatical persecution of Amūn. His images were everywhere forbidden or destroyed by the king's command. His name and that of his consort Mut were chiselled out of all monuments, and the two were made outlaws. Not only the names of the great Theban deities were erased but also those of Ptah and Hathor, Osiris, Isis, and Horus, Atum, Geb, and Montu, and others besides. Even the vulture-goddess of Upper Egypt and the buck-god of Mendes were banned ;[30] the three-fold writing of the sign for god, indicating a plurality of gods, was destroyed ; and the word for " mother " was so written as to avoid the sign of the goddess Mut. Here was war on the gods with a vengeance, but there is evidence, as we shall soon see, to doubt whether it was consistent and thorough-going, and whether even it was meant to be.

At first the teaching of Ikhnaton was merely a continuation of the doctrine of Heliopolis, for it was the sun by day, that is, Rēᶜ-Harachte, the sun between the two horizons, which was the object of Ikhnaton's worship. There was nothing new or unique in it, no new doctrine, no new religious thought. The great hymns to Rēᶜ, Amūn, Amūn-Rēᶜ, the Nile contain parallels to each and every idea to be found in the hymns to the Aton. Ikhnaton's originality consisted in his own vivid personality, his own fanatical devotion to a particular deity, Aton, and his own energy in translating thoughts into action, rather than in any originality of religious thought. His conception of the material universe did not differ from that which generally obtained in his day, nor did his fundamental ideas of god. Indeed, his idea of the Aton, the sun's disk, was primarily a purely materialistic one. He deified, in the Aton with its rays, the force by which the sun acted. It was the physical force which was universal, which brought all things into being, and which preserves all things. It was the power of the physical sun, with its power expressed symbolically by means of a disk with its rays, which Ikhnaton worshipped. And so he addressed the sun thus : " Thou risest in the horizon of the east " ; " thou art very beautiful, brilliant, and exalted above the earth " ; " thou art the sun " ; " thou art afar off, but thy beams are upon the earth " ; " thou art on high, but the day passes with thy going " ; " when

[29] Cf. Davies, JEA, 9 (1923), 149.

[30] E.g. Davies Amarna, VI, 27, 1 ; Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, Le Caire, 1910, II, 349, xviib.

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thou restest in the western horizon of heaven, the land is in darkness like the dead". These ideas are very beautifully expressed, but they are materialistic just the same. It is the physical sun which is the subject of these praises—the same, which was once addressed as Atum and as Rēᶜ, was addressed by Ikhnaton as Aton, each one of whom, in turn, was said to "lighten the Two Lands with his Aton". The originality, newness, and freshness of Ikhnaton's religion was Ikhnaton himself. His doctrine (*śbȝi.t*), which he believed to have been revealed to him alone, was more a philosophy than a religion—a philosophy of the beauty and beneficence of the material sun, whose beams (*śtw.t*) brought to mankind not only light and life, but also beauty, love, and truth. And so Breasted called him (with some enthusiasm) "the first *individual* in human history",[31] and Weigall (with some exaggeration) the greatest before Christ,[32] but his own countrymen (with lack of appreciation) "that criminal of Akhetaton".[33] Thus, he has often been over-estimated; he has sometimes been under-estimated; but he cannot and will not be ignored, for his personality is too compelling.

The religion of the Aton has been called monotheism and this is now assumed by many writers on the history of religions, due largely to the influence of the writings of the late great Egyptologist, Professor Breasted.[34] The opposite point of view has been defended by W. Max Müller[35] and others, including the present author.[36] In favour of monotheism, the following points are usually emphasized: Ikhnaton caused to be destroyed all over Egypt the words "the gods"; the names of other deities were chiselled out throughout the land; he replaced the word *neṯer* by *aton*; he wrote the word *mw.t*, "mother" in such a way as to omit the vulture, the sign of the goddess Mut; the term "divine offering" was changed to "Aton offering"; he did away with the human and animal form of god; he adopted an old symbol, the sun-disk, but treated it in a new and original way by adding human hands to the rays; he placed the name of Aton in two cartouches, like a king; and he abolished magical formulae in funerary inscriptions. In addition

[31] Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, New York, 1921, p. 356.

[32] Weigall, *The Life and Times of Akhnaton*, London, 1911, p. 117.

[33] Breasted, *op. cit.*, 402.

[34] Breasted Development, 6, 315, 347; and in other earlier works; cf. also Erman Religion, 122-4.

[35] Müller Mythology, 224-31; and in other works.

[36] Mercer, "Was Ikhnaton a Monotheist", JSOR, 3 (1919), 70-80; cf. *id.* JSOR, 10 (1926), 21 ff.

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there was the changed religious atmosphere of the time, the poetic and peaceful character of the king, the naturalness of art, the comparative simplicity of the cult, and the use of such expressions as " sole god beside whom there is no other ".

Even if we must not insist upon too nice a philosophical definition of monotheism for such an early period in world history as that of Ikhnaton, yet, at least, we should expect sufficient evidence of a real theological monotheism—not a henotheism nor even a pantheism, but a belief that in all the known world there is only one god, whom all men should recognize as god. The evidence of such a belief in the time of Ikhnaton is certainly lacking. Much has been made of the Phrase *nn kii wpw ḥr.f*, " beside whom there is no other ", which occurs in one, or perhaps two, of the shorter Aton hymns,[37] and which has been connected with a phrase in the great Aton hymn, which most likely can be restored to read, *p3 nṯr wᶜ nn kii ḥrw.f*, " O thou sole god, beside whom there is no other ",[38] but which may also be rendered, " O thou sole god, to whom none other is rival ".[39] But however the phrase may be translated, it cannot be taken as a proof of monotheism, for exactly similar phrases were applied to other gods, by people who certainly were not monotheists. Thus, Amūn-Rēᶜ was said to be " he who hath made all, the sole one ".[40] Nor can the expression, " beside whom there is no other ", be confined to Aton worship. In the daily ritual of divine service, in the time of Seti I, the goddess Maat was referred to thus : " beside thee is no other with thee ".[41] Such phrases are no more than extreme examples of henotheism. When an Egyptian said, " O thou sole god, beside whom there is no other ", he evidently meant that for his immediate needs, or, so far as he was concerned, no other gods needed to be considered. The same and similar phrases may be found in considerable quantity representing periods when there could be no question of monotheism. Thus, Atum said " I am the only one " ; and it was said of Rēᶜ, " sole lord taking captive all lands every day " ; of Thot, " thou art the one god that hath no equal " ; of Amūn-Rēᶜ, " the one alone without peer " ; of Amūn, " thou art the sole god, there is

[37] Davies Rock Tombs, I, pl. XXXVI, 1, p. 49 ; probably also III, pl. XXIX, 1, though the original is broken.

[38] Davies, *op. cit.*, VI, pl. XXVII, 8 ; cf. Breasted, " The Philosophy of a Memphite Priest ", ÄZ, 39 (1901), 53.

[39] Davies, *op. cit.*, VI, 30.

[40] BD (Budge, Papyrus of Ani, London, 1913), pp. 109, 195, etc.

[41] Moret Rituel, 140.

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no other". There was always in ancient Egyptian religious thought a distinct tendency to identify various deities with one another, and to conceive of great gods capable of absorbing other gods, but that tendency never resulted in monotheism. Out of it grew families of gods, triads, enneads, and pantheons, but never a monotheism.

Those who favour monotheism as a true description of the worship of the Aton point to the many expressions of creatorship, of universal power and sway in the great Aton hymn. But there is not one expression of universalism, omnipotence, or omnipresence in the poem which cannot be paralleled many times over from other Egyptian hymns. As Müller has well said concerning the contents of Ikhnaton's poems, "they present scarcely a religious thought which cannot be found in earlier literature. They might almost as well have been written of the solar deities of preceding generations".[42] For example, of Aton we read, "thou makest the seasons in order to create all thy work; winter to bring them coolness, and heat that they may taste thee". Of Rēᶜ also it is said, "he maketh the seasons by the months, heat when he desires, cold when he desires". Further, it is interesting to note the following parallels:

"Thou didst create men . . . all cattle large and small" (Aton).
"Creator of all and giver of their sustenance" (Rēᶜ).
"Maker of men and creator of animals" (Amūn).
"Maker of men, creator of beasts" (Amūn-Rēᶜ).

"When the fledgling in the egg chirps in the shell, thou givest him breath" (Aton).
"Giving breath to those in the egg" (Amūn-Rē).

"O lord of eternity" (Aton).
"Lord of eternity" (Amūn-Rēᶜ).
"Traversing eternity" (Rēᶜ).

"Thou didst make the distant sky to rise therein" (Aton).
"Maker of things below and above" (Amūn-Rēᶜ).

"Thou didst establish the world" (Aton).
"Who raiseth the heavens, who fixeth the earth" (Amūn-Rēᶜ).

[42] Müller Mythology, 231.

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" The world is in thy hand, even as thou hast made it " (Aton).
" O maker of everything that is " (Amūn-Rēᶜ).

" Thou art in my heart " (Aton).
" Who hath set him (Amūn) in his heart."

" The Two Lands are in daily festivity . . . their arms lifted up in adoration to thy dawning " (Aton).
" Every country adoreth thee, to the height of heaven, to the depths of the earth, to the depths of the Great Green Sea " (Amūn-Rēᶜ).

Another consideration which has led students of Egyptian religion to find monotheism in Atonism is the fact that during the time of Ikhnaton the names of deities were so generally chiselled out of monuments. This was particularly true of the names of the Theban triad, Amūn, Mut, and Khonsu, and to a large extent also of the names of other deities, especially of those of the cycle of Amūn, such as, for example, Ptah and Hathor. There are some, such as Müller, who believe that none but the members of the Theban triad were persecuted ; while others, such as Breasted, hold that the persecution included all the gods. It is difficult to decide, for, on the one hand, agents of the king may not have been as zealous as he, nor as watchful and systematic as they might have been ; and, on the other hand, many names which had been defaced were restored afterwards, and some of them so well that it becomes difficult to decide whether or not they had ever been defaced. However, the name and figure of Amūn were pretty systematically erased,[43] which confirms the thought that the real object of Ikhnaton's displeasure was Amūn and his family, and not that he doubted the reality of other gods. Indeed, it might be argued that because of the fact that Ikhnaton erased the names of the gods he believed in their existence.[44] The name of the god Rēᶜ was as a rule left untouched, most likely because both Aton and Rēᶜ were forms of sun-worship. With Rēᶜ Ikhnaton could have no quarrel. Consequently, even in the titles of Aton we find, " Rēᶜ lives, Harachte,

[43] The name of Amūn has been found unerased in a Twelfth Dynasty relief at Armant (Mond Armant Temples, pl. 88, fig. 6 (JT), and p. 168). Another instance may be seen in the tomb of Puyemre at Thebes, though the word " gods " has been lightly erased (Davies Puy, II, 9, 47).

[44] Preisigke SB, 36.

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who rejoices on the horizon" ; and " Rēᶜ lives, ruler of the horizon, who rejoices on the horizon in his name, ' Rēᶜ the father, who has returned as Aton ' ".[45] Herein we find exactly what Ikhnaton believed about Aton, namely, that he was a later appearance of Rēᶜ the old sun-god. Furthermore, in changing names, Rēᶜ could take the place which was given to Aton, e.g. the name Ptah-mosé was changed not to Aton-mosé, but to Rēᶜ-mosé.[46] Ikhnaton's own sub-name was Waᶜnrēᶜ, " confidant of Rēᶜ ", or " Rēᶜ is the only one ".[47] As far as Ikhnaton was concerned, the Aton and Rēᶜ were one (Mém Miss, 5, pl. 5).[48] Finally, as we have already remarked, all divine names were not erased : at Speos Artemidos, only the name of Amūn was erased ; the vulture goddess of the South and the Uraeus-goddess of the North were left intact ; and the goddess Maat remained.[49] It is rather difficult to draw the line between inscriptions before and after the time when Ikhnaton began his active persecution of Amūn and other gods (if he really did persecute other deities). Thus, for instance, in the tomb of the vizier Ramosé, who was active mostly during the time of Ikhnaton, we find one of his titles to be " knowing the mysteries of *all the gods* " ;[50] in his fifth year, Ikhnaton still worshipped Ptah and the other gods and goddesses of Memphis ;[51] before his sixth year Amūn was erased, but not Rēᶜ (BAR, II, 934) ; and also perhaps before his sixth year, the expressions, " son of Rēᶜ ", " Maat daughter of Rēᶜ ", and " ruler of the gods " occur (BAR, II, 939). Then after the death of Ikhnaton, many of the erased signs were recut in the monuments.[52]

The most interesting argument against the " monotheism " of Ikhnaton, not only from a modern point of view, but likewise from that of ancient Egyptian thought itself, is the deity of Ikhnaton himself, as king of Egypt. According to the Egyptian way of thinking, including that of Ikhnaton himself, Ikhnaton was as much of a god as Thutmose III. Though he abandoned the title " bodily

[45] Gunn, JEA, 9 (1923), 176.

[46] MDOG, 55, 17.

[47] Davies, JEA, 9 (1923), 152.

[48] Cf. Davies Rock Tombs, VI, 35.

[49] It has been argued that Maat appeared only as an emblem of truth and not as a deity ; and that the king identified himself with the goddesses of the South and North (cf. also BAR, II, 959).

[50] Davies, *Tomb of the Vizier Ramosé*, London, 1941, Vol. I, pl. XLI, 1.

[51] Griffith Hierat Pap, pl. XXXVIII, and pp. 91-2 ; cf. RT 6 (1885), 54-6.

[52] See Davies, *Tomb of the Vizier Ramosé, passim* ; also Davies, JEA, 9 (1923), 138-50.

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son of Rē^{c}.", he renounced none of the claims of an Egyptian king to divinity, and assumed the title, " the son of Rē^{c} who lives in Truth " ;[53] he was identified with Horus and the Mnevis Bull ;[54] he was identified with Ḥapi, the Nile-god ;[55] he was " the beautiful child of Aton ", just as Amenophis I was " the beautiful child of Amūn " ;[56] and he was the " good god ".[57] He had priests of his own cult, and he appears to have been adored, perhaps in anticipation, during his lifetime.[58] Thus, Ikhnaton recognized as gods himself, Aton, the Two Goddesses of South and North, and Rē^{c}, at least ; perhaps also Horus and Ḥapi, and that is enough to spoil the evidence of monotheism, certainly, in the sense that a monotheist is one who believes that there is but one God, whose being and existence pervades and transcends all space and time. The chances are, Ikhnaton, like other Egyptians, in spite of his genius, was a polytheist, not even perhaps a pantheist, and at most a henotheist.

The religion of Ikhnaton was not monotheism, and much less ethical monotheism, for if any one point about the life and thought of Ikhnaton is clear, it is that he did not especially emphasize ethical ideas in his religious reforms. It is true that he emphasized " truth ", but so did the worshippers of Amūn who certainly made more of compassion and helpfulness than Ikhnaton ever did. Amūn was not only " the great god who lives in truth ", but—what was never said by Ikhnaton of Aton—he " judgeth the oppressed and needy ", he " harkeneth to the prayer of him that is in prison ", he was " kind of heart when one crieth unto him ", he " speaketh the gentle word at the moment of strife ", " he delivereth the helpless one ", etc. Such passages may be quoted by the score, in reference to Amūn or Amūn-Rē^{c}, but in the Ikhnaton literature there is practically no reference to moral matters. Ikhnaton thought of beauty rather than of righteousness. Nor can it be said that his religion was spiritual ; indeed, the old religion of Egypt was much more spiritual in tone and expression. Neither did Ikhnaton ever

[53] Davies, JEA, 9 (1923), 152.
[54] BAR, II, 959 ; cf. Davies Rock Tombs, IV, 32.
[55] Davies Rock Tombs, I, pl. XXXVIII, 2 ; II, pl. VII, 14, XXI, 2, l. 1.
[56] Davies, *op. cit.*, VI, pl. XX, and p. 13.
[57] BAR, II, 959 ; Davies, JEA, 9 (1923), 152, 176, etc.
[58] Davies Rock Tombs, VI, pl. XX, and p. 13 ; Griffith, JEA, 5 (1918), 61 ff. ; Daressy, Annales, 16 (1916), 178 ; Daressy, Bulletin, 14 (1914), 65 ff. ; Roeder Urkunden, 69 ff. ; Schaefer, *Kunstwerke aus El-Amarna*, Berlin, n.d., Bd. II, pl. 12. See, however, below, chapter XIV.

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seek or reach any intellectual subtilties or sublime conceptions. The truth of his system lay in its nearness to obvious blessings. His system was really a thorough-going materialism, other than that it contained a certain vein of poetic contemplativeness. It was a naturalistic henotheism, rather than a technical or ethical monotheism. In some respects it tended to be pantheistic—it was the actual cosmic body, the physical sun itself, which Ikhnaton worshipped.

There was certainly nothing transcendental in Ikhnaton's " monotheism ". In one of his hymns he says of Aton, " When thou settest in the western horizon of the sky, the earth is in darkness like the dead." The Aton is the actual physical sun, not a transcendental deity, which all students of religion associate with the idea of *monotheism*, and as for the dead, they are entirely outside and beyond the realm of Aton[59]—of course, for Aton is the material, physical, cosmic sun.

There is no denying the fact that Ikhnaton was an original personality. He may have been reviled, but like the greatest of Hebrew prophets he claimed divine inspiration. In addressing the Aton he said, " There is no other that knoweth thee save thy son Ikhnaton ", and thenceforth he proclaimed his doctrine (*śbȝi.t*), namely, that Aton is the sun's disk, not the power behind the sun, but the disk with its heat and life-giving warmth, the Rē^{c} between the eastern and western horizon, the Rē^{c}-Harachte, that is the sun while visible in the heavens. It was an adaptation of the old idea of the worship of the sun at dawn (as Khepri), at noon (as Rē^{c}), and at sunset (as Atum), only Ikhnaton insisted that at every moment, in his journey between the two horizons, east and west, but *not* through the underworld, the sun was to be worshipped. His god was : " Atum who is in his aton ", " Rē^{c} whose body is the Aton " " who lightens the Two Lands with his aton ". It was the material, physical, cosmic sun which Ikhnaton adored. A few quotations, among other evidence, illustrate this truth. Addressing the Aton he says : " Thou risest in the horizon of the east ", " Thou art beautiful, brilliant and exalted above the earth ", " *Thou art the sun* ", " Thou art afar off, but thy beams are upon the land ", " Thou art on high, but the day passes with thy going ", " Thou restest in the western horizon of heaven ". All these quotations

[59] Davies, *op. cit.*, V, 16-18 ; VI, 25-35 ; this and the following paragraphs in this chapter are taken from the author's article, "The Religion of Ikhnaton", in JSOR, 10 (1926), 25-33.

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are from Ikhnaton's great hymn. Ikhnaton naturally ascribed to his god the powers of creation, as all worshippers do. But, in the case of sun-worship this is pre-eminently appropriate. How much Ikhnaton knew about the central position of the sun in our solar system is hard to say. But that he ascribed the powers of creator and sustainer to him is nothing new in the history of previous thought. As it is, of course, it turned out to be very appropriate.

Ikhnaton's religious genius is in no way more clearly demonstrated than by the fact that he was in some ways centuries ahead of his times. Thus, his doctrine failed completely to attract the people. His courtiers and followers tried to ape the king because their fortune and happiness depended upon it. They were richly rewarded for their loyalty. But the masses were untouched by all the new teaching. Workmen clung to their traditional beliefs or superstitions, their favourite deity being Bes. They had their amulets, and offered their prayers to Shed and Isis as well as to Amūn, " the good ruler eternally, lord of heaven, who made the whole earth " ; they had their funeral processions ; and they established endowments for the support of the deceased.[60] This has been fully demonstrated by the excavations at Tell el-Amarna.

The main reason for the popular failure of Atonism was its silence about the future,[61] and hence its inability to replace Osiris and to appeal permanently. But this failure was inherent in the very nature of Atonism. Atonism was pure sun-worship, nothing more, and the sun as it appears by day during its journey from the eastern to the western horizon. When he set all the world was in darkness. Atonism was a worship of the *material sun as it appears by day*. Hence its silence about the future or the underworld, in which Egyptians were always so vitally interested, and its rejection of funerary rites and ceremonies.

The religion of Ikhnaton was sufficiently monotheistic to be characteristically unitarian in that much emphasis was placed upon the idea of god and beauty in nature. Ikhnaton was perhaps a " god intoxicated man ", but he was more certainly a poet, an artist, a lover of things natural and beautiful, and his whole religious outlook was coloured thereby. His artistic and original nature comes out still more clearly in his religious ceremonial.

The cult or form of worship, at Tell el-Amarna was modelled to a considerable extent upon the traditional temple worship, but

[60] Peet and Woolley, *The City of Akhenaton*, I, London, 1923, 93 ff.

[61] Davies, JEA, 9 (1923), 133-5.

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Ikhnaton introduced numerous and fundamental alterations. And these differences stood out all the more prominently because Egypt was a land of conservatism, and Ikhnaton was one of extremely few original minds in ancient Egypt.

The form of the temple at Akhetaton, as one would expect, was simplified.[62] The precincts of the temple consisted of a front and large enclosure and a back and smaller enclosure. The front contained the main temple, and the back the more sacred temple, where the king and his family worshipped, and whose colonnade was devoted to the cult of the royal statues. In this latter enclosure was also the *benben* stela, in fact the whole enclosure was called the House of the *Benben* (later called the " Shade of Rēᶜ of the Queen Mother, the Great Royal Wife, Tiy "), an interesting fact which confirms what has been said about the relationship, between Atonism and sun-worship, the *benben* being the great and original symbol of Rēᶜ at Heliopolis. The hindermost part of this inner temple contained a sanctuary devoted in a special way to the worship of the Aton ; Ikhnaton, his mother Tiy, and his father being represented as the chief worshippers. It is again significant that Amenophis III is represented, which fact indicates how conscious Ikhnaton was of his father's devotion to the Aton. In the colonnade already referred to these same royal persons, in the form of their statues, were the recipients of offerings and adoration as seems to be proved by the loaded racks and tables that stand before them.[63] Both the front and back temples were probably open to the sky, in contradistinction to the solarized temples which had roofs, but of this point we are at this time somewhat uncertain.[64]

In the liturgy of the temple of Aton there was no place for the ritual acts of toilet or of the many pre-toilet episodes of the old liturgy, consequently there was no cult image of the Aton. Ikhnaton's liturgy was an imageless one so far as the Aton was concerned—not otherwise however. The worship of Aton consisted mostly of the presentation of food and drink offerings, of perfumes, of fruit, and especially flowers, of the chanting of hymns and of elaborate musical performances. The Detailed ritual acts were those of the old worship. Food and drink offerings were presented accompanied by the burning of incense, the performing of

[62] Blackman, " A Study of the Liturgy celebrated in the Temple at El-Amarna ", Rec. Champ, 505-27.

[63] See above p. 234 and chapter XIV.

[64] Peet and Woolley, *op. cit.*, *passim.*

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libations and the act of consecration, which consisted in the extending of the *ḥrp*-baton over the *res sacrificii*. There was also the elevating of trays containing offerings—each specific offering according to ancient use was elevated. Thus not only food, flowers, and drink, but also unguents were elevated in alabaster vases to the Aton. Then they were placed on the great altar of the Aton which faced east, under the clear sky. Wine and flowers accompanied by incense played a very important part in the *res sacrificii*.

There were, of course, numerous priests. But in the outer temple the king and the queen also offered the sacrifice. On their arrival the royal party proceeded immediately to the great pylon at the back of the outer court where were a number of stands and where the king and the queen each made oblations and themselves consecrated their gifts. The royal children rattled the sistra, while the courtiers made due obeisance. The king was assisted by his high priest with censer and libation vessel. The royal pair then proceeded to the high altar, and after ceremonial purification, mounted the steps. The altar was loaded with *res sacrificii*—choice parts of oxen, geese, melons, bouquets, and atop of all, two burning dishes of incense, which the king replenished. The chief priest and the Chief Servitor of Aton are there. There are other priests, as well as cantors and musicians. The king lays aside his royal mantle, and stands clad simply in a white tunic, sandals and mitre. The queen stands beside the king, and like the king sprinkles incense, and wears her crown. There are numerous attendants and the royal children play their part as worshippers. Thus, it is clear that while many traditional points of ritual were preserved and perpetuated, Ikhnaton's originality marks almost every step in the service. His artistic and poetic personality coloured everything. There were processions, oblations, ritual acts, vestments, incense, music, singing, prostrations, hand-clapping, but the whole service was conducted in a simpler and more refined and subdued manner than at any other time in the history of Egypt. Moreover, the numerous festivals, cult services of various deities and mortuary celebrations of the old religion were done away. Simplicity was the order of the day, which began by emphasizing the uniqueness of the deity. Of course, there were still certain mortuary practices, for man must have his "eternal house" with endowments for the support of the deceased in the hereafter. But these ceremonies were simplified and not at all disfigured by old magical figures. Now the deceased prays to the Aton to grant

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the certainty of beholding him, and to refresh him with the breath of the north wind; now the scarab bears a prayer to the Aton, and the amulet is inscribed with Aton's name and symbol. Offerings were made to the *ka*, but with the greatest simplicity.

After the establishment of the cult of Aton, it was not long before temples and shrines arose all over the land.[65] The most important of them were at Tell el-Amarna, Heliopolis and Thebes. In Akhetaton (Tell el-Amarna) there were three sanctuaries, the state temple of the king, a temple of the Queen-mother Tiy, and one for the princess Beketaton. The Aton temple in Heliopolis was important for there especially Aton and Rē^{c} were one. The temple in Thebes was very sumptuous and richly endowed to impress the priests of Amūn. It was called Gem-Aton, or "Aton is found". There were sanctuaries of Aton also beyond the borders of Egypt in Nubia and perhaps also in Syria.[66] The architecture of the Aton temples, in general, was like that of the old temples, except that the Aton temples were roofless. They had no columned halls, no dark sanctuaries, and no cult images, and offerings were, as a rule, made directly to the sun.

Sun-worship was natural to Egypt. That is clear. From the earliest times, however, numerous deities, other than the sun-god, were worshipped. But at an early period there was a tendency to identify all other gods with Rē^{c}, the sun-god. There was accordingly a tendency toward uniformity in religious thought, in the structure and equipment of temples, in ceremonial, in liturgy, and in the organization of the priesthood. At various times in the history of Egypt, foreign religious ideas and deities were introduced, but amalgamation and identification were always at work. The power of an ancient city or country was always reflected in the power of its gods. According as Egypt became more and more powerful so the power and influence of her gods increased. The god of a great city like Thebes, and the representative god of a great country like Egypt tended to absorb other deities into himself. Hence arose henotheism and a tendency to monotheism. When Egypt became a world-power her representative god, e.g. Amūn or Amūn-Rē^{c} tended to become a world-god. This was the state of affairs when Ikhnaton came to the throne.

Now, Ikhnaton was an individualist. He quarrelled with the priesthood of Amūn at Thebes and hence with Amūn. He

[65] Breasted gave a list in an article in ÄZ, 40 (1903), 106-13.

[66] Breasted, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

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was constitutionally inclined to sun-worship. His hereditary talents and gifts urged him in the same direction. He was by nature simple, original, and a reformer. He desired a pure sun-worship and so without at all breaking with the past, rather by using the traditions, the prestige, the accomplishments and inspiration of sun-worship, he breathed new life into a form of Rē^{c}-worship which his father Amenophis III had already set up, namely a worship of the Aton. It was not a foreign cult, nor was it a new cult. It was the old sun-cult, but Ikhnaton impressed upon it his own original, poetic, artistic, and incomparable genius and made it live with new power and beauty.

Like Ikhnaton himself, his religion was simple. It was a worship of the actual, natural, physical, cosmic disk of the sun, as it appears in the sky, between morning and evening. It was purely and simply sun-worship. He was not greatly concerned with what we might term technical, ethical, or transcendental monotheism. He hated Amūn and all his ilk. In fact, he tired of the innumerable gods. He was simple and original by nature, and he determined to make his religion simple. He did not desire to break with the past. He retained much of the old religious conceptions, ceremonial acts, forms or worship. He followed his father's custom in establishing his own cult, and he desired to worship the sun, which was manifestly a universal thing, which by means of his heat and warmth brought all things to life, and sustained them. That was a worthy object of worship ; that would be his god—Aton. Perhaps it was pantheism, perhaps it was a crude monotheism (?)—it was certainly not what we should call an ethical or transcendental monotheism—it came perhaps nearer to what we may call henotheism than to anything else.

The religious literature of his time shows us that the religion of Ikhnaton did not greatly differ in essential doctrine from the system that existed in Egypt both before and after his time. It was a worship of the sun-disk, which communicated with mankind by means of his energy or beams, his heat or love, and his beauty. The Disk was the creator and sustainer of life, and to him was due the adoration of mankind. The central act of worship was still as in the past, sacrifice accompanied by ritual, ceremonial, prayer and praise. Aton was righteous and truthful, but little emphasis was placed upon his social qualities ; nor was his ethical nature particularly stressed. Ikhnaton was the Son of Rē^{c} and as such divine. He was, in fact, the " good god ", adored, like the Aton,

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and closely identified with him. Aton is "lord of eternity", but showed very little interest in the life beyond.

The religion of Ikhnaton was in many respects a refinement of the historic religions of Egypt. It came nearer to a technical monotheism than any other ancient religion before the days of the Hebrew prophets. It was not especially ethical and not at all transcendental. It was beautifully and poetically natural. It was simplicity itself, in comparison with other ancient religions. Indeed, it was too simple, too natural, too poetic, too artistic, and in some respects, too original to be lasting. Ikhnaton was not appreciated by the men of his day. Perhaps the only ones who at all appreciated him were his wife and his mother. After his death his theology was ignored, his system was believed to have undermined the unity of his people, the magnificence of the temple services, and the imperial prestige of his country, and he himself was execrated as a criminal.

While Ikhnaton's religion can truly be said to have been a natural development of certain tendencies of the old solar religion, it cannot be denied that Ikhnaton's personality made it in some respects a unique thing. Old Testament Yahwism was a new thing after the inspiration and work of Moses, and Christianity was Judaism plus the personality of the Christ. In like manner it may be said that Atonism was sun-worship re-made by Ikhnaton. His emphasis upon beauty, truth, family love, reality in art and in life, and his aversion to many of the older meaningless forms and symbols made his religion unique in Egypt.

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CHAPTER X

MINOR GODS AND DEMONS

IT is not possible, nor even desirable, to collect the names of all the numerous gods, and demons of ancient Egypt. Of many of them we know only the names, and some deities are only differentiated forms of a single god or goddess. In the Pyramid Texts alone many hundreds of deities are mentioned, most of whom occur only once, and of whom we know practically nothing. The Coffin Texts contain the names of many, and it is said that chapters one hundred and forty-one and one hundred and forty-two, in their original form, of the Theban Book of the Dead, contained the names of all the gods of heaven, earth, and the other world, as well as a list of the forms of Osiris, to which offerings were to be made.[1] Then there are lists of Memphite gods,[2] of gods in the tomb of Seti I,[3] and names of gods occur in numerous places in all kinds of ancient Egyptian texts. Finally, because of the limitations both of extant texts and also of our knowledge of them, it is impossible to give a complete list of Egyptian gods. Nor would such a list serve any useful purpose, for it would be extremely long and would consist mostly of names and nothing more. This chapter will therefore confine itself to an account of the more important minor gods, of the general classes of minor gods, and of the more important and recognized demons. A discussion of goddesses, foreign deities, deified animals and other things, and cosmic and nature deities will be the subject of subsequent chapters.

There are a few important minor gods, who, although already mentioned or liable to be mentioned, merit separate, though brief, treatment. They are :

KHEPRI is a form of the god Rē^{c}, as the rising sun. The earliest orthography of the name is Kheperer (*ḫprr*, PT 1210, 2079), but the usually-found form is *ḫpri*, which means " he who becomes ". He was thought to have been self-created, or to have come into being out of the primeval watery mass, called Nun. According

[1] BD (Budge), p. clxxvii ; Budge Gods, II, 323-44.
[2] RT, 37 (1915), 57 ff.
[3] Budge Gods, II, 317-20.

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to the seventeenth chapter of the Book of the Dead (116), he was thought to have been the father, or source, of the two companies of the gods. His symbol was a beetle, rolling its egg (the sun) across the sky; and he was usually represented as a man with a scarab as a head. Besides being a form of Rē^{c}, he was very closely

Fig. 41
KHEPRI

allied with Harmachis, and he was associated with mortuary scenes as early as the Old Kingdom.[4] His worship was very ancient, especially at Heliopolis, whence it spread over the whole of Egypt, and his symbol, the scarab, became one of the most popular amulets in ancient Egypt. A vignette of the ancient chapter seventeen of the Book of the Dead shows him sitting in his boat, and being worshipped by Ani and his wife.

SOPDU (*śpdw*) was a warlike god, with his home in the XXth Lower Egyptian nome, on the eastern side of the Delta. His capital city was *Pr-śpdw*, "House of Sopdu", also called "House of the Sycamore", the modern Saft el-Ḥene. His name seems to mean "the sharp-toothed", which would be in keeping with his character as a god of battle, "smiter of the Asiatics". He was identified with Horus as Ḥr-Sopdu in his character as god of the rising sun. He was usually represented as a bearded man, sometimes of Asiatic type, with two tall feathers on his head. He also appeared as a crouching falcon with similar plumes. Later he was represented as a winged Bes. He was a border-god, who guarded Egypt against the in-coming Asiatics.

[4] Pap Nu, Br. Mus., No. 10477, sheet 21.

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The river Nile was deified under the form of its ancient name ḤAPI (*ḥ^{c}pi*) or Ḥep (*ḥp*). From the earliest times, the source of the Nile was supposed to be on the frontier of Egypt, between the cataracts of Aswân. Thence it divided into two rivers, one of which flowed northward through Egypt, and the other southward through

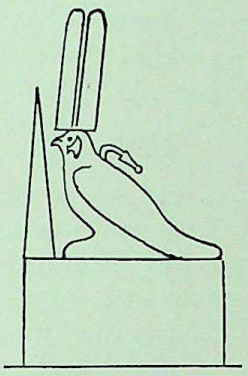

Fig. 42
SOPDU

Nubia. Sometimes it was thought that the sources of the river at Elephantiné were four in number. They were represented by four jars presented by the cataract-goddess Satet. There is extant an interesting hymn of thanksgiving to Ḥapi,[5] and books of the Nile-god are referred to.[6]

There is some uncertainty about the original form of the name of the Nile and consequently of the name of the god. Erman argues for *ḥ^{c}pr*, while Gardiner suggests *ḥirp* or *ḥrp*.[7] Whatever its ancient form, it seems most likely that it was given to the river by the predynastic inhabitants of the country.

It was thought that Ḥapi dwelt in a grotto on the Island of Bigeh, in the Nile. There his consort was Nekhbet. Sometimes she was given as Nut, and sometimes as Mut or Isis. He was called "great lord of provisions", "lord of fishes", "father of the gods", "creator of things which exist", "vivifier". By his worshippers, he was exalted above Rē^{c}. He was most consistently spoken of as a giver of fertility to the earth and the bringer of food. But like most gods, he was called also "the establisher of right or

[5] Budge Fetish, 385-7.
[6] BAR, IV, 296 f.
[7] ÄZ, 44 (1907), 114; 45 (1908), 140 f.

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truth (*mȝᶜ.t*)". His symbols were water and water plants. He was usually represented as a bearded man with female breasts and pendulous belly, wearing water plants upon his head, and holding a tray of food-produce, or pouring water from vases (see Fig. 4). Sometimes he holds the two plants or the two vases, representing the northern Nile and the southern Nile. In coloured scenes he was represented either blue or green. Statues of the god are very rare; but he was often represented in temple bas-reliefs.

As a water and vegetation-god, Ḥapi was identified with Osiris, Ḥapi being the Nile and Osiris the fertilizing virtues of the river (PT 2063). The Nile was said to have come forth from the sweat of the hands of Osiris,[8] and the soul of Osiris was revived by water flowing from the breast of the male-female Ḥapi and from a vase in his left hand.[9] He was also identified with Nun, the primeval watery mass, and, as a creator-god, he was also, from time to time, identified with Rēᶜ, Ptah, Khnum, and Amūn. He was worshipped, no doubt, as early as the first prehistoric settlements on the banks of the Nile, and, although no regularly organized liturgical cult of Ḥapi is known, offerings were made to him for his aid and blessing during the periods of inundations. Out of that developed the regular festivals of the Nile (LD, III, 175a, 200d, 218d), such as those of Rameses II, when many kinds of offerings were made to Ḥapi, and later the festival of the annual rise of the Nile was celebrated throughout Egypt with great solemnity. Still later, Heliodorus Aeth. X, 1, speaks of an offering to the Nile and a festival (ib., IX, 9). The early Church Fathers refer to the worship of the waters of the Nile,[10] and the festival of the Nile is celebrated even in our own day.[11] We have reference to several temples which were dedicated to Ḥapi, at Nilopolis,[12] Heliopolis, and Memphis.

The god WEPWAWET, as his name shows, was "Opener-of-roads" (*wp-wȝw.t*), and may have originally been a war-god, who opened the way for troops into enemy lands.[13] Associated with the king, especially in war, he appears in the earliest Egyptian inscriptions (Bayer Religion, 397, 399, 400, 406, 407). He became

[8] ÄZ, 38 (1900), 32.

[9] Müller Mythology, 94, fig. 85.

[10] F. Zimmermann, *Die aegy. Religion nach der Darstellung der Kirchenschrifttellers und die aeg. Denkmäler*, Paderborn, 1912, 72.

[11] Baedeker's Egypt, Leipzig, 1929, p. c (100).

[12] That is the Νεῖλος of Hecataeus (Stephen of Byz. FHG, I, 277).

[13] Poertner, *Die aegypt. Totenstelen*, Paderborn, 1911, *passim*; ÄZ, 41 (1903), 97 ff.

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associated at a very early date with Anubis and with Osiris as opener of the way to the West ; and also with Rē^{c}, taking his place in the prow of the boat of that god. As opener of the way to the West, he was " lord of the cemetery ", and " protector of the dead ". He was usually represented as a man (or as two men) with the head of a jackal, or wolf, or as a standing wolf, and was identified with

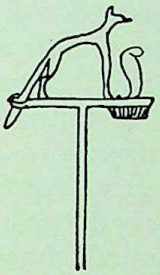

Fig. 43
WEPWAWET

Khenti-Imentiw. He was worshipped at Lycopolis (Asyût) and Abydos.

ONURIS, a very ancient god, was, it seems, Horus the warrior (*Ḥr-ṯmȝ-*^{c}), or was closely identified with him. At any rate he was primarily a war-god. A legend tells how the god of This, near

Fig. 44
ONURIS

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Abydos, captured his consort, a lioness, the goddess Sekhmet, in a distant desert land, and brought her as booty to Egypt, and so was called Onuris (*'in-ḥr.t*), " the bringer of the distant ".[14] Now, a gazelle of the desert had robbed Horus of his eye, but this warrior and hunter-god defeated the gazelle and returned the eye of Horus. So Sekhmet was the eye of Horus. In the Onuris legend the eye of Horus, Sekhmet, is the same as the burning eye of the sun-god. His consort was the lioness-goddess Mḥ.t.

Besides being a war-god, Onuris was also a sun-god, and as such closely associated with Shu. As god of This, near Abydos, he was also a mortuary-god, and was sometimes called Khenti-Imentiw. In Greek times he was Ares. His symbol was a pair of tall feathers, and he was usually represented as a bearded man, sometimes with one hand, or both hands, upraised, holding a spear. On his head he wore four tall plumes. As already remarked, Onuris was closely identified with *Ḥr-tm3ᶜ*, and as such he was closely related to Shu ; and also associated with Anubis and Wepwawet of the region of Abydos, and with Thot through the legend of Onuris. He was adored especially at This and Sebennytos; also in the eastern desert and in Nubia.

AKER was an old earth-god of the Delta, mentioned in the Pyramid Texts (796) and in the seventeenth chapter of the Book of the Dead. He was usually represented as an animal god with the forepart of a lion at each end of his body to guard the two horizons,

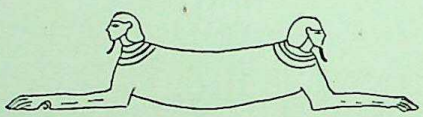

Fig. 45
AKER

to preside over the sun's course in the night world, that is, to guard the underworld.[15] Sometimes he appeared as two lions turning their backs to each other. In BD, 17, they are said to represent Yesterday and To-day.

The god ASH (*3š*) seems to have been a Libyan deity. He is found as early as the Second Dynasty on seals of wine jars, as

[14] Junker Onurislegende, *passim.*
[15] Bulletin, 30 (1930), 575-80.

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a man with the head of the Set animal.[16] As he appears on sealings of Peribsen and Khasekhemui he must have been very closely associated with Set. He is perhaps the same who occurs in BD, 95, as Ashu, and in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty he appeared with three heads—a lion's, a snake's, and a vulture's.

BES was known as early as the Twelfth Dynasty as a patron of fun, music, and childbirth. He seems to have come originally from Punt. He was represented as a bearded dwarf, with a shaggy

Fig. 46

BES

hair and a tail, and often wearing a lion's skin.[17] In mythology he played the rôle of Serpentarius. As time went on he took on more and more the character of a sorcerer. Amulets of him were very common. There was also a female Bes.

Secondary minor Egyptian gods, like the Indigitamenta of ancient Rome, were very numerous, and since no good line of demarcation can be drawn between them, it probably will suffice here to mention some of the more important alphabetically, and then to give a list of the classes of minor gods.

A headless god, as an Acephalos, occurs in Egyptian mythology.[18] He was usually represented as Osiris, sometimes

[16] Petrie RT, II, pls. XXII, 178-9; XXIII, 199-200; M. A. Murray, AE, 1934, 115; *Antiquity*, Dec., 1941, 384-5, and pl. I; JEA, 11 (1925), 78 f.; ÄZ, 61 (1926), 23 ff.

[17] See also Werbrouck, "A propos du dieu Bes", ER, I, 28-32. How dwarfs became gods, as in the case of Bes, see Hall, "Dwarfs and Divinity in West Africa", *Museum Jr.*, U. of Penna., 1917, 295-315.

[18] K. Preisendanz, "Akephalos", *Morgenland*, 8 (1926), *passim*.

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on gems, on sarcophagi, on magic papyri, and the headless god of the Dendera zodiac is Osiris. A headless figure occurs, perhaps a goddess, or priestess, adoring a ram-god in a solar disk in the tomb of Rameses IX. According to Lucian, *De dea Syria*, VII, a human head came every year from Egypt to Byblos floating on the water; and according to magical papyri a headless god was later addressed as Osiris, Jeû, and Jaô, representing the Egyptian, Hebrew, and Greek form of the god. Ageb (*3gb*) was an ancient god of the watery deep (PT 559, 565). Antaeus, known only by his classical name, was adored at Antaiopolis, and had mixed characteristics of Horus and Set. He appears only in late sources.[19]

Banebdedet was a ram-god, represented as a ram with the solar disk and the uraeus between his horns. He was thought to have been an incarnation of Osiris and of Rē^{c}. His consort was the goddess, Ḥat-Meḥit, and his cult-centre was Mendes. The god Bata of the *Tale of Two Brothers* was an ancient god with solar characteristics,[20] worshipped at Cynopolis, and especially connected with the goddess Bast.

Ḥa (or Ḥa-Ka) was an old god of the western Delta, a mountain god, called "lord of the west", perhaps of Libyan origin. His name occurs in the Pyramid Texts (1013, 1712), and he took an important part in the prehistoric development of the West Delta.[21] Ḥemen was a falcon god. His home was Ḥefet, and he was associated with Montu.[22] Ḥer-shefi, or Harsaphes, was a form of Horus, known since the earliest dynastic times, and worshipped at Herakleopolis magna.[23]

Iḥi, god of music, of Dendera, was son of Hathor and Horus. He was represented carrying a sistrum. Iwf was Rē^{c} at night when

[19] ÄZ, 20 (1882), 135 ff.; 47 (1910), 48-50; Kees Horus und Seth, II, 18-19; Erman Religion, 394; Sethe Urgeschichte, 53. The classical Antaeus was adored at Antaiopolis because he became identified with Horus-^{c}*nti*, the ancient god of a district which the Greeks called Antaiopolis. This identification came about because Horus was a wrestler (^{c}*nti*) as Antaeus was; Horus (the elder) was son of the earth-god Geb, and Antaeus was son of the earth-goddess Ge; Horus was a West Delta god, and the home of Antaeus was Libya; and Horus and Set were called the ^{c}*nti-wi* (the two wrestlers), and to Antaeus were ascribed the characteristics of both Horus and Set (cf. Vandier Rel. Eg. 26-7).

[20] Cf. JEA, 17 (1931), 77 ff.; ÄZ, 44 (1907), 98.

[21] Cf. Mercer Horus, 50; Newberry, AAA, I (1908), 24 ff.; Annales, 16, (1916), 71-6.

[22] Bulletin, 12 (1912), 106; V. Vikentiev, *La Haute Crue du Nil*, Le Caire, 1930, *passim*; Aegyptus, 1932, 91.

[23] Cf. Mercer Horus, 179; Bayer Religion, 520.

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he passed through the underworld. He was usually represented with the head of a ram, wearing the solar disk between his horns.

Maaḥes (*m33ḥs*) was son of Rēᶜ and Bastet, and usually represented as a man with the head of a lion, wearing the *atef*-crown, or as a lion rising up in the act of devouring a captive. He was often identified with Shu or with Nefertem.

Nefertem was the son of Ptah and Sekhmet, and so was worshipped at Memphis. He was usually represented as a man, with a lotus upon his head, from which rose two tall plumes.

Ta-ṯenen (*t3-ṯnn*) was a form of Ptah. He was represented as a bearded man wearing two feathers, solar disk, and ram's horns.

There were numerous classes and groups of gods. There were heaven-gods, star-gods, air-gods, wind-gods ; there were gods of earth and water, and of the four cardinal points, north, south, east and west ; there were gods of the horizon ; there were nome gods and city gods ; there were gods of the months and of the days of the months, of the days and nights and of the hours of the days and nights ; there were gods of the epagomenal days, and gods of the cubit ; there were gods of the senses, and soul gods ; there were national gods, and local gods ; there were companies of gods, enneads, ogdoads, pentads, triads, and families of gods ; there were the four sons of Horus, and guardians of the dead ; there were child gods and protector gods ; there were mortuary gods, and gods of the underworld ; there were moment gods, and anonymous gods ; there were professional gods, such as, military gods, music-gods, an occulist god,[24] medicine and healing gods, and birth gods ; and there were functional gods, such as harvest gods, and weaving gods.[25] Many animals and inanimate objects were personified and deified. These as well as abstract deities, deified men, and cosmic and nature deities will be treated in subsequent chapters.

It may be said as a general statement that the difference between a god and a demon was very slight so far as the ancient Egyptian thinker was concerned. Indeed, a demon was a god, only an evil god. All evil deities were demons, all good divine beings were gods and goddesses. And an evil deity could become a good one.

The most famous and most important of all Egyptian demons was the huge serpent-god Apophis (*ᶜ3pp*). He was the god of

[24] *Dw3w*, god of oculists, Annales, 41 (1942), 219-32.
[25] See Budge Gods ; Lanzone Diz ; Müller Mythology.

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storm and darkness, who hid in the clouds and sought to obstruct the sun-god on his daily voyage, and, in so doing, was assisted by his army of fiends. He was the very incarnation of evil. In ancient Egypt, the serpent or snake almost always symbolized antagonism and evil, and became the impersonation of spiritual as well as of physical struggle. An old Egyptian legend partly of Creation is called " The Book of knowing how Rē^{c} came into being and of overthrowing Apophis ($^{c}3pp$) ".[26] It tells how Apophis the enemy of Rē^{c} was bound, pierced, and burnt, by Rē^{c} and his helpers. The enemy of Rē^{c} is sometimes called a crocodile, a hippopotomus, a wild boar. He was often identified with Set, and his fiends with the accomplices of Set. According to some representations Apophis was finally bound and guarded in the underworld. His guardians sometimes were the goddess Serḳet and two four-headed watchmen ; sometimes they were Geb and the four sons of Horus or Osiris ; sometimes Anubis ; and sometimes Thot. Apophis was usually depicted as a serpent of the abyss and

Fig. 47
APOPHIS

often appeared with four heads, representing the four sources of the Nile, which was thought to spring from the underworld. Now and then we find that Apophis symbolized the ocean which was supposed to swallow up the sun at sunset, or to battle with it as it journeyed through the underworld. Representations show the serpent at the foot of the celestial tree, where it is cut to pieces by a divine cat, the sun. Such were some of the aspects of the struggle between Apophis and Rē^{c}, the same which sometimes merged into the famous story of the conflict between Horus and Set, Set being identified with Apophis, and called " the serpent which is cut in pieces ".

Ammut, a female demon, was also famous. Her function was to be present at the judgment after death in order to devour the souls of the condemned. She was represented as a composite creature, with the body of a lioness, the forequarters of a crocodile

[26] Roeder Urkunden, 98-115.

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and the hindquarters of a hippopotamus. This " eater of the dead " (*ʿm-mwt*) was the watch-dog of Osiris. Another demon was Besit (*bśi.t*), a fire-spitting serpent ; and still another was Meḥen, a serpent which protected Rēʿ when voyaging in his boat. Nebed

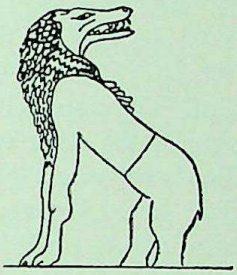

Fig. 48
AMMUT

(*nbḏ*) was a demon of darkness.[27] Aḥa was a demon in the form of Bes ; Aden was a demon of sickness ; and there were many others. Neḥebkan is a good example of a divine being who was both good and evil, god and demon. As a god he was attached to the person of Rēʿ, and provided food for the deceased ; as a demon he was a dangerous underworld being. He was depicted as a serpent with human legs and arms. Another example of the same was Neḥaḥer, who, though one of the forty-two assessors of Osiris, was later sometimes identified with Apophis.[28]

[27] ÄZ, 59 (1924), 69-70.
[28] Pap Harris mag, V, 7.

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CHAPTER XI

GODDESSES

ONE of the oldest of all Egyptian deities is the goddess NEIT of Sais in the western Delta. She was a goddess of hunting, was in time identified with many other goddesses, and their attributes were assigned to her. References to her are found in inscriptions and literature of all periods, early and late. Her name is found on monuments of the earliest period.[1] It occurs earliest as *Nr.t*, later as *N.t*, and reproduced in Greek as *Νῆϊθ*.[2]

As early as the Fourth Dynasty she was considered the daughter of Rē^{c}, and in later times her husband was said to have been Khnum, when she was lady of Elephantiné.[3] She was commonly called the mother of Rē^{c}.[4] She was also reputed to have been mother of Amun-Rē^{c}, of Osiris, of Isis, of Horus (and wife of Osiris), and especially of the crocodile-god, Sebek. Indeed, she was called "father of fathers, and mother of mothers".[5] She seems to have been in some sense a personification of the primeval watery mass, out of which arose Rē^{c}. At any rate, she represented, in many respects the idea of motherhood, and as such she was one of the four cow-goddesses, Isis, Nephthys, Serḳet, and Neit. She was the "great cow which gave birth to Rē^{c}", "the great goddess, the mother of all the gods". She was said to have given birth to the deceased (in the next world);[6] she was called "opener of the ways";[7] and she was known as "mistress of the Mediterranean".[8] In

[1] RE, XI (1904), 76, fig. 7; Newberry, *Scarabs*, London, 1906, pl. III, 2, 5, 7, 10.

[2] Sethe, ÄZ, 43 (1907), 144; cf. Bibl. Egypt, 2, 377-83; the word for "crown", *n.t*, which she wore, may have been related to the word *N.t* for Neit.

[3] Budge Gods, 1, 454 ff.

[4] Contendings, 15, n. 3; Sethe Urgeschichte, 82; Mallet, *Le Culte de Neit à Saïs*, Paris, 1888, 252.

[5] Budge Gods, I, 463; cf. Horapollo, i, 12, who states that Neit of Sais was at once male and female.

[6] BD (Budge), 66, 2.

[7] Budge Gods, I, 454.

[8] Maspero, *Musée du Caire*, pl. 45, 41-2.

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later Egyptian times, her symbol was misunderstood as a weaver's shuttle, so that she was connected with the art of weaving and of tying magic knots, as a great sorceress like Isis. But, she was so consistently thought of as the mother of the sun-god, that besides being a goddess of hunting, which she probably was originally, she came to be considered a personification of the sky.[9] Neit's oldest symbol, occurring already in pre-dynastic times,[10] was a shield and two arrows, in reference to her character as a goddess of hunting.

Neit was usually represented as a woman wearing the red crown of Lower Egypt, and grasping a bow and arrows. She also

Fig. 49
NEIT

appeared as a cow, and once at least as a woman with the head of a lioness. One picture represents her with two crocodiles, sucking one at each breast.[11] Neit was identified with Isis, and in later times was considered nothing more than a form of Hathor. She also tended to be identified with Nut. In Greek times she was Athene, and as Isis she was called Minerva. She was associated with Isis, Nephthys, and Serḳet in guarding the Canopic jars.

On the earliest known inscriptions of ancient Egypt, Neit occurs more often than any other deity. One of the earliest of these reads, *'ih-n-N.t*, "rejoice in Neit"; another has *N.t-mn-ś*,

[9] Cf. Le Page Renouf, PSBA, 12 (1890), 347-52. The word *N.t* for Neit, in such a case, may have been related to *Nw.t*, the sky-goddess.

[10] Petrie-Quibell NB, LXVI, 10, etc.

[11] Cf. Lanzone Diz, CLXXV ff.

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"Neith establishes her".[12] Her symbol has been found painted on pre-dynastic pottery discovered at Naqâda in Upper Egypt;[13] and two queens at the very dawn of Egyptian history, Neit-Ḥetep and Merit-Neit have the name of Neith as a part of their names.[14] The prehistoric ensign of the IVth Delta nome was the symbol of Neit, as was also the emblem of the Vth Lower Egyptian nome, the nome of Sais. The goddess Neit appears often in the Pyramid Texts (e.g. 489, 510, 606, 1314, 1375, 1521, etc.). From the Twelfth to the Nineteenth Dynasties she is often referred to in various inscriptions (e.g. BAR, I, 609, II, 358, 630, III, 28), but she rose to great heights of eminence in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, when the Kings of Sais became pharaohs of all Egypt. However, she lost prestige at the end of that dynasty.

The earliest shrine in Egypt of which the deity is certain is that of Neit in the reign of Menes (Aḥa),[15] and although there is extant no description of the early ceremonies connected with her worship,[16] there is reason to believe that they were of a mystic character, for Herodotus (II, 59) refers to the mysteries which were held at Sais—perhaps mysteries of the passion and death of Osiris, who, according to one legend, was buried at Sais. Although Neit was adored in many parts of ancient Egypt, even as far south as Naqâda, her great sanctuary was at Sais in the Delta. There was also an important one at Esneh, which was her home in the South.[17] Whether she was originally worshipped in Libya, depends upon the question of whether she was Libyan in origin. It is usually assumed that Neit was at first a Libyan goddess, although Keimer is opposed to it, but thinks that she may later have been adopted by the Libyans as their own.[18]

BUTO or WAZIT (*wꜣḏi.t*) was an ancient serpent-goddess of the West Delta, a friend and ally first of Horus and later of Osiris as well. Her symbol, the uraeus, appears in inscriptions of the earliest period in Egyptian history (Bayer Religion, 34, 501).

[12] Petrie, AE, 1914, II, 63 and 65; cf. Quibell Hierak, II, pls. LXX-LXXI, figs. 26-32.

[13] Petrie-Quibell NB, LXVI, 10, etc.; cf. Morgan Origines, II, fig. 244.

[14] Cf. Newberry, AE, 1914, 155.

[15] Petrie Making, pl. XLII, 4.

[16] Even in the Book of the Dead, there are no spells nor prayers addressed to her.

[17] Sethe Urgeschichte, 142.

[18] L. Keimer, Annales, 31 (1931), 145-86; Newberry, PSBA, 28 (1906), 68 ff.

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State Museum, LUCKNOW.

She became the national goddess and guardian deity of Lower Egypt. The ensign of the nome of this goddess was called *wꜣḏi.t*, and the goddess took the name of the ensign. The capital city of the nome, therefore, was *pr-wꜣḏi.t*. Greek writers rendered the name of the goddess Wazit (*wꜣḏi.t*) into Uto, and the word for house *pr*, they transcribed into *b*. Thus, they rendered *pr-wꜣḏi.t* into Buto, the city of Uto. They applied the same name to the goddess, calling her Buto, which name we have retained.

Her title was "lady of the north", and as such she was its protectress. As daughter of Anubis she bore the title "she who supplies cool water", *ḳbḥw.t* (PT 1180, 1564, 2103). She was usually represented as a woman or as a *uraeus*-serpent, wearing the red crown of Lower Egypt. In the form of a *uraeus*-serpent she was later attached to the royal crown as a protectress of the king.[19] She thus remained loyal, throughout Egypt's long history, to Horus, her ancient friend and ally.

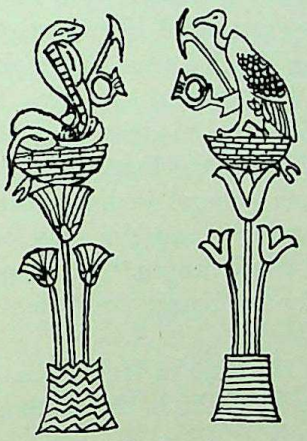

Fig. 50
BUTO AND NEKHBET

The counterpart of Buto, in Upper Egypt, was the vulture-goddess NEKHBET (*nḫb.t*), protectress of the South. She was one of the oldest deities of Egypt, occurring on cylinder inscriptions of the transition period in Egypt from prehistoric to historic times.[20] She was considered daughter of Rēᶜ and wife of Khenti-Imentiw.

[19] Her city Buto became for a time the dynastic and royal city of Lower Egypt.

[20] Bayer Religion, 34, 460, 479, 494, 494ᵃ, 520, 538, 542, 552b; cf. Petrie, AE, 1914, II, 72, nos. 48, 53.

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As wife of Ḥapi she was said to open the entrance (to the abyss) (PT 1229). Nekhbet was first and foremost guardian of Upper Egypt. In later times, as daughter of Rēᶜ, she was considered the right eye of the sun-god,[21] just as Buto, as friend of Horus, was naturally the left eye. As "the great (mistress, or) wild cow" (PT 728, 2003, etc.), she was a mother-goddess,[22] and as such was identified by the Greeks with Eileithyia, protectress of child-birth. Consequently, her city, Nekheb (modern El-Kâb) was called Eileithyiaspolis.

Nekhbet was usually represented as a woman, or as a vulture, wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt. She was regularly represented as flying above the king, and holding in her talons a ring or some other royal emblem. She was often identified with Hathor. Although worshipped pretty much throughout Upper Egypt, her chief sanctuary was at Nekheb. She was also worshipped at Nekhen (Hierakonpolis), on the opposite side of the river.

ISIS, prototype of motherhood and of the faithful wife, the most famous and important of all Egyptian goddesses, was an early predynastic deity of the XIIth Lower Egyptian nome of Sebennytos, the Roman Iseum. Her capital city was Per-ḥebit, called also Neṯer (PT 2188, 1268), the modern Behbêt el-Hagar.[23] Myths, legends, religious, and historical literature of ancient Egypt and of certain classical authors abound in information about Isis.[24] Her name, *ś.t*, means "throne", and she may originally have been a personification of the royal throne.[25] It is possible that the word had the form *ȝś.t*,[26] for its Coptic equivalent is *ēse* and the Greek forms are *Ἶσις* and *Εἶσις*.

According to the doctrine of Heliopolis, Isis was the daughter of Geb and Nut, the wife of Osiris, the mother of Horus,[27] and sister

[23] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 103.

[24] E.g. "Legend of the Contendings of Horus and Set", "Legend of the Poisoning of Rēᶜ by Isis", "Legend of Horus of Edfu", "Legend of the Wanderings of Isis in the Delta and the Birth of Horus", "Mysteries of the Resurrection of Osiris", "Laments of Isis and Nephthys", Hymns to Rēᶜ, Pyramid Texts, Book of the Dead, Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*, Breasted's *Ancient Records*, etc.

[25] Sethe Urgeschichte, 102.

[26] Cf. Grapow, ÄZ, 46 (1910), 107-8.

[21] Junker Onurislegende, 160.

[22] It is interesting to note that in Egyptian the vulture, symbol of Nekhbet, is read *mw.t*, "mother".

[27] How Isis succeeded in obtaining a son, Horus, from her dead husband, Osiris, is described in the Pyramid Texts (630-3), as well as in a stela now in Paris. See Budge Fetish, 201-2.

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of Set and Nephthys. She was also, according to the same system of theology, the sister of Osiris, just as Nephthys was wife and sister of Set. According to *Contendings*, she was the daughter of Neith ; and Plutarch made her the daughter of Thot. She is supposed to have been born on the fourth of the epagomenal days. There is no definite information about her burial place. Some Greek sources say Memphis, others say in Arabia.[28]

Isis was known as a " divine mother " and " mistress of the pyramid " in the Old Kingdom (Bar, I, 178, 180), " the divine, the living " (Annales, 22 (1922), 113-38), and the " female Horus " (Roeder Dakke, I, 267).[29] Her main attributes were well defined long before the Pyramid Texts : She was the great and beneficent wife and mother, and it was especially as wife and mother that she was adored ; she personified the feminine creative power of the soil and married the vegetation-god, Osiris, as she herself was a corn-goddess, a rain and wind-goddess.[30] She was protectress of the deceased pharaoh (PT 379), and was one of the four goddesses who protected the Canopic jars ; she was also goddess of justice.[31] Isis was especially known as a great magician, who " invented the remedy which gives immortality ", and restored Osiris to life. Plutarch assures us that she learned this important art from Thot, but the Pyramid Texts already knew about it. As we learn from

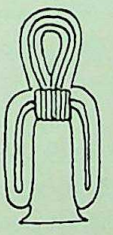

Fig. 51
THE " KNOT " OF ISIS

such legends as that preserved in *Contendings*, she could change herself or others (e.g. Horus) into any form she desired.

[28] Cf. Roeder, " Isis ", in Pauly-Wissowa.

[29] For detailed titles of Isis, see Budge Fetish, 199-200 ; and the Isis Hymn of Ios and Andros, Budge Fetish, 204-5, and W. Peek, *Der Isishymnus von Andros*, Berlin, 1930.

[30] Schaefer, ÄZ, 66 (1931), 139.

[31] Cf. Müller Mythology, 100.

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The goddess Isis was symbolized by the hieroglyph, by means of which her name was written, namely, a seat. She was also symbolized by a cow, or cow's horns ; by a falcon, in the form of which she perched on the corpse of Osiris ; in late times, by Sothis, the star Sirius ; and, in classical literature, she was symbolized by sacred trees. Her most curious emblem was the "knot" of Isis, known as early as the Old Kingdom,[32] the origin and meaning of which is quite unknown, though it might have been a female girdle.

Early representations of Isis pictured her as a woman only, or as a woman wearing upon her head a seat, the hieroglyph of

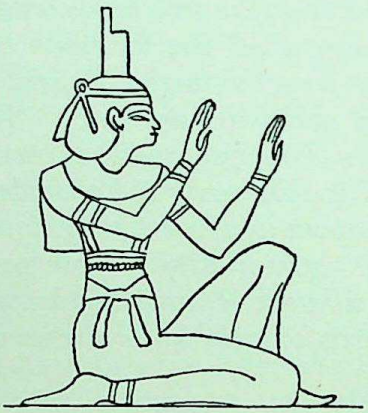

Fig. 52
ISIS

her name. When identified with Hathor she wore the solar disk and cow's horns of that goddess. In statuettes she was often represented nursing the infant Horus, sitting on her lap. In later times, she appeared as a stately young matron, sometimes with the crescent moon on her head, and sometimes with a crown of lotus flowers, interspersed with ears of corn ; dressed in a fringed tunic reaching to her feet ; over her shoulder a mantle tied by its ends ; between the breasts a peculiar knot ; in one hand the sistrum, and in the other a horn of abundance ; and her head covered by a long veil.[33] Numerous statues of Isis alone are extant, and all

[32] Quibell Hierak, pl. 2, 59.

[33] As a form of every one of the great goddesses, Isis was represented in many different ways and with many different kinds of head-dress and adornment. See Lanzone Diz, pls. 306-13.

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are in complete human form. She occurs also with other deities in statuary form.[34]

Isis was identified with almost all Egyptian goddesses from time to time, and to a more or less degree. But the goddess with whom, from the first, she was most completely identified was Hathor. As " queen of all gods, goddesses, and women ", and " mother of heaven ", she was identified with Hathor, " the heavenly cow ", also with her own mother Nut, the sky-goddess *par excellence*. She was identified with Imentit, goddess of the regions of the West, a necropolis deity ; with Serḳet, scorpion-goddess of the underworld ; with Sothis, queen of the fixed stars. She was Neith at Sais, Bast at Bubastis, Wazit at Tanis ; she was a " goddess of many names ".[35] In late times, beyond Egypt, she was identified with Ashtoreth of Phoenicia, Demeter of Greece, Ceres of Rome ; with Selene, Aphrodite, Juno, Nemesis, Venus, Fortuna, Panthea, etc.[36] Isis was especially associated with her sister Nephthys, with other goddesses, such as Mut, Nefertem ; and such gods as Osiris, Horus, Set, Rēᶜ, Ptah, Anubis, Thot, Apis, and especially in later times with Serapis and Harpocrates.[37]

Although there is no reference in actual extant inscriptions to Isis before the latter part of the Second Dynasty,[38] she occupies such an important place in Egyptian myth and legend, and especially in the Pyramid Texts, that her great antiquity as Egypt's greatest goddess cannot be doubted. Indeed, there is good reason to believe that her origin represents a period definitely prior to the development of sun-worship. Throughout the long history of pharaohonic Egypt Isis remained the best known of all goddesses. During the Saitic period her popularity increased more and more with that of Osiris, and by the beginning of the Greek period her own individuality stood out more and more prominently, especially as a sky-goddess. In the Roman world Isis became a universal divine being, " queen of the whole earth ", " queen of heaven ", the moon, Sirius, and supreme in the underworld. She was the protectress and teacher of mankind, the lady of destiny, queen, teacher of religion and the mysteries, mistress of magic and oracles, and mother of Harpocrates. Her cult spread all over the ancient

[34] See, for example, Daressy Statues, nos. 38866-38897, and 38899-38904.
[35] Brugsch Thesaurus, 102, 217-19.
[36] Apuleius, *Golden Ass*, transl. by Butler, Bk. XI, 2 f.
[37] See, for example, Daressy Statues, nos. 39216 ff.
[38] See Bayer Religion, 520.

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Near Orient, including the islands of the Mediterranean, to Greece, North Africa, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, Germany, Switzerland, France, and even to Britain.

From the very beginning of her career, Isis was never adored as a local goddess. She was the great supreme mother-goddess. There is no wonder, therefore, that so far only one name, in the Old Kingdom, has been found, in which the name of Isis is combined.[39] Neither were there any great temples dedicated to her until the Thirtieth Dynasty and the Ptolemaic period. Yet it seems most likely that there was a place in every important temple in ancient Egypt where she was adored.[40] Her greatest temple was built by the Ptolemies at Per-ḥebit (modern Behbêt el-Hagar) in the Delta, known to the Greeks as the Iseion and to the Romans as the Isidis Oppidum, where she with Osiris and Horus was worshipped, and continued so to be adored until the sixth century A.D. But her most famous and most beautiful temple still stands, though ruined, at Philae, also built in the Ptolemaic period. At Philae the cult of Isis continued uninterruptedly until the end of the sixth century when it was terminated by Justinian. During the Roman period, besides the temples in Egypt, there were temples of Isis, especially in Rome, Pompeii, and in many other places. As the great festival of Isis consisted in a commemoration of the death of Osiris, its beginning, though unknown, most likely goes back to a very early period. Indeed, the feasts of Osiris were also those of Isis, which not only explains our lack of the knowledge of separate feasts of Isis, but also gives us an idea of how Isis was adored. There were processions, offerings, prayers, hymns and music; there were priests and priestesses ; and there was in particular the great " mysteries of Isis ", a miracle play, celebrated in the temples of Rome as well as in those of Egypt itself (see, for details, chapter XXII). As we read in Metamorphoses (Apuleius), Book XI, chapter 26, " Queen Isis . . . was the object of the most fervent adoration ", and this was true, no doubt, of all periods in the history of ancient Egypt, early and late. Finally, in A.D. 392 orders were issued to cease sacrifice to heathen gods ; in 394, the last official feast of Isis was celebrated in Rome ; but in spite of that the mysteries of Isis were celebrated till the sixth century of the Christian era.

The sister and close friend and companion of Isis was the

[39] Rusch, *op. cit.*, in AO, 24 (1924), 26.
[40] Cf. Budge Gods, II, 213.

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goddess NEPHTHYS, sister and wife of Set. Her name, *nb.t-ḥ.t*, means " lady of the house ", or " house-wife ". She was sometimes called " lady of the West ", and was several times identified with the " goddess of fate ", and with the headless goddess of the West, called " Justice ".[41] She almost always attended Isis in her devotion to Osiris, and, although the wife of Set, she was never hostile to Osiris. She bewailed Osiris, cared for his body, and nursed the infant Horus. Indeed, according to Plutarch, she was the mother of Anubis by Osiris. Nephthys was represented as a woman wearing upon her head the hieroglyph of her name. Although so prominent

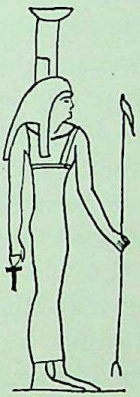

Fig. 53
NEPHTHYS

in the Pyramid Texts and in legends about Osiris and Isis, she is never mentioned in other Old Kingdom texts,[42] unless the famous *Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie*, which does mention her with Isis, can with certainty be dated as early as that, which seems most likely.[43] She was worshipped at Perḥebit, the home of Isis, at Senu, and later at Diospolis parva.

One of the oldest,[44] and next to Isis, the greatest and most important Egyptian goddess was HATHOR, the sky and cow-goddess. Next to Isis, also, Hathor occurs in Egyptian literature more frequently and consistently than any other goddess. In the earliest inscriptions, in the Pyramid Texts, in the Book of the Dead,

[41] Cf. Müller Mythology, 52-3, 100.
[42] Rusch, *op. cit.*, in AO, 24 (1924), 26.
[43] Sethe Memph. Theol., *passim*.
[44] Perhaps the oldest, cf. Hornblower in *Man*, Vol. 37, No. 186 ; and below p. 274.

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in hymns and legends Hathor appears persistently. In two most interesting legends, *The Destruction of Mankind*,[45] and a legend about her under the name of Tefnut from Philae,[46] Hathor plays a very important rôle. In the first, Rēᶜ sends forth his eye, Hathor his daughter, to destroy rebellious mankind. The eye failed to come back, so Rēᶜ sent Shu and Tefnut to bring her home. Shu's name was then changed to "Onuris", "he who brought back the far-off". Hathor was the far-off or distant goddess. In the second legend, Tefnut (i.e. Hathor), as a wild lioness lived afar in *Kns.t* (Bwgm) in the eastern Nubian desert. Rēᶜ, her father, sent out Shu and Thot to persuade her to come back. She reluctantly returned to Egypt via Philae, Edfu, Esneh, Dendera. Tefnut (i.e. Hathor), goddess of moisture, then married Shu, god of the air. The day of her return was for ever afterwards celebrated in Philae, Edfu, Esneh, and Dendera. These two legends most likely had a common origin. Accordingly, they preserve a tradition that Hathor as a lioness came from Nubia, which is parallel to a tradition to the effect that Horus originally came from the same region in Nubia, which in this place was called Punt. This is interesting in view of the fact that Horus and Hathor were closely related in ancient legend. Horus was sometimes considered the son of Hathor, sometimes her husband ;[47] Hathor was called the *bḥd.ti.t*, just as Horus was the *bḥd.ti* ; and Horus was a lion-god, especially as lord of Punt, just as Hathor was a lioness-deity.[48] As a cow-goddess, however, the home of Hathor traditionally was Aphroditopolis, the modern Atfih, on the east bank of the Nile, not far from Memphis. There she was called "the first of the cows", and there, according to Strabo (XVII, 1, §35), a white cow, sacred to Hathor, was worshipped.

As sky-goddess, Hathor was considered the daughter of the great sky-goddess, Nut, her father being Rēᶜ. She was also mother of Rēᶜ, as goddess of the sky. But as a lioness-deity, and coming from Punt, "lady of Punt", she was thought to be the wife of Horus, who also came from Punt. However, according to the theologians of Heliopolis, Hathor was the wife of Rēᶜ, and as such

[45] Budge Legends, pp. xxiii-xxxii, and 14-41.

[46] Junker Hathor-Tefnut ; Junker Onurislegende, *passim*.

[47] Junker in *Der sehende u. blinde Gott*, München, 1942, seeks to show that Hathor was always considered the wife of Horus.

[48] See Mercer Horus, *passim* ; Junker Onurislegende, 73 ; Junker Hathor-Tefnut, 15.

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she was considered the mother of Horus, who was a sun-god. Thus, her name meant, " House of Horus ". But this did not prevent her from being considered, in *Bḥd.t*, the nurse of Horus, after Isis had become his mother. In her rôle of nurse of Horus she was a cow-goddess. She was also mother of *'Iḥi*, the god of music. This was at Dendera, where she was " lady of the sistrum ". Hathor's relationship to Horus as mother, wife, nurse, is a good example of the general lack of logic and systematic thinking among ancient Egyptians, and illustrates the oft-repeated assertion that the Egyptians never forgot an old legend, but illogically combined it with new ones without being disturbed about inconsistencies. Hathor's two great titles were those of sky and cow-goddess. She was also the " eye of Rēᶜ ", " lady of the West " " goddess of love, of singing, dance, and the sistrum ", " warrior-goddess ", " lady of the underworld ", " the *bḥd.ti.t* ", " the golden one ", " mistress of the stars ", " lady of Byblos ". As " lady of the underworld ", she played an important part in connection with the welfare of the dead, receiving them in the West, just as she daily welcomed the dying sun in the evening glow. In the Greek period, Hathor became the special patroness of women, when women deceased were thought to become " Hathors ". Being so closely associated with Rēᶜ, Hathor was connected with the eastern as well as with the western sky. Her forms were numerous,

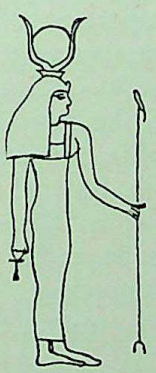

Fig. 54
HATHOR

for she had, from time to time, been identified or associated with every important local goddess. But usually she appeared either as a woman with the solar disk, on her head, between cow's horns ;

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or as a cow wearing the solar disk and two plumes between her horns. As the " far-off one ", she appeared as a lioness, a serpent, an eye, or a woman.[49] In statuary she appears as a woman, or as a woman with the head of a cow.[50] With both Isis and Tefnut she was at times identified. She was identified astronomically with Sothis, being thereby connected with the rise of the Nile, preparatory to the inundation. She was, from time to time, identified with Neit, Nekhbet, Wazit, Bast, and with almost every important local goddess, and by the Greeks she was identified with Aphrodite. The Egyptians themselves compiled a list of all the great goddesses who were regarded as Hathors,[51] and at a comparatively early period a selection was made, which usually contained seven. They were : Hathor of Thebes, of Heliopolis, of Aphroditopolis, of the Sinaitic Peninsula, of Momemphis, of Herakleopolis, and of Keset.

There is archaeological evidence for only three other deities earlier than Hathor in ancient Egypt—Min, Set, and Horus. The Hathor head occurs in the Gerzean period, and the cow (no doubt, the Hathor-cow) with disk and horns was found by Winkler inscribed on cliffs in southern Upper Egypt.[52] By the time of Narmer, just before the rise of the dynasties, she had become a kind of protective deity of that leader, for heads of Hathor adorn the palette of Narmer and his waist-cloth.[53] On cylinder inscriptions of the First Dynasty she occurs ;[54] and from then on she became more and more important. Her worship spread to all parts of Egypt, and became practically universal. She became the great mother of the world, although her rites were rare in tombs. On the other hand, she had shrines in all the great towns throughout Egypt, and in Nubia, Sinai, and Syria as well. Dendera, though not her oldest shrine, became her most important home. Her cult was important also at Diospolis parva, at Momemphis, at Memphis, at Cusae, at Philae, and at Byblos in Syria.[55]

TEFNUT, like her counterpart Shu was really a cosmic deity, a personification of moisture. She was, however, in some

[49] See Lanzone Diz, pls. 314-27.
[50] Daressy Statues, pp. 413-15.
[51] See a complete list in Budge Fetish, 229-31.
[52] H. A. Winkler, *Rock-Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*, London, 1938, 22.
[53] Quibell Hierak, I, pl. XXIX.
[54] AE, 1914, II, 69, no. 28.
[55] Cf. Montet, *Byblos et l'Egypte*, Paris, 1928, *passim* ; Erman Religion, 349.

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respects, so completely identified with Hathor that she was considered a wild lioness, whose home was far-off in Punt, or eastern Nubia. She was considered both sister and wife of Shu, according to the Onurislegende, discussed above. Being identified with Hathor, she also was daughter of Rē^{c}. She was represented either

Fig. 55
TEFNUT

as a woman, sometimes with the head of a lioness, wearing the solar disk, with the *uraeus*, on her head ; or simply as a lioness.

The goddess MAAT (*mȝ^{c}.t*) was a personification of truth, justice, physical and moral law and order. According to legend, she stood with Thot in the boat of Rē^{c} when he arose out of Nun, the great watery abyss, for the first time. She was thus considered the daughter of Rē^{c} and wife of Thot. Her chief task was to usher

Fig. 56
MAAT

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into the hall of judgment (of Rēᶜ and of Osiris) the newly-arrived soul.[56] She was represented as a woman wearing the feather of truth on her head. In the Pyramid Texts her name is sometimes determined by a falcon wearing the same feather on his head (e.g. PT 1768, 1774). Maat was often associated with the two goddesses of birth, Renenet and Meskhenet, as well as with Meḥturt, a cow-goddess, and Seshat, goddess of writing ; also with the gods Ptah and Khnum. She was the Greek Themis. As goddess of truth she was connected with the famous " Negative Confession " (BD, 125), and as goddess of justice officials in ancient Egypt sometimes bore the title " priest of Maat ".[57]

MŪT, wife of Amūn, in Thebes, is to be distinguished from Mu(u)t, " the water-flood ". She was an ancient local deity of Thebes. When Amūn came, he brought his consort, Amūnet, with him. She, however, was soon over-shadowed by Mūt, and her cult was suppressed in favour of that of Mūt. But Mūt herself was thought to have come originally from Nubia, or Punt, via the Wâdi Ḥammâmât.[58] At any rate, she was a very ancient goddess,

Fig. 57
MŪT

for she is mentioned on a cylinder inscription of the First Dynasty.[59] She had many titles,[60] among them being, " ruler of Karnak ",

[56] Pap Ani, pls. 3-4.
[57] Boylan Thot, 54, n. 1.
[58] Junker Onurislegende, 68-9 ; Petrie, AE, 1917, III.
[59] Petrie, AE, 1915, II, p. 79, no. 85.
[60] See Budge Gods, II, 30.

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" mistress of amiability ", " great sorceress ", " eye of Rēᶜ ", " queen of Nubia ", " mistress of bows ", " mistress of heaven ", " queen of all the gods ", etc. She was the great world-mother, who conceived and brought forth whatsoever existed, and was supposed to possess both male and female organs of reproduction. Mūt was usually represented either as a woman wearing the double royal crown ; or as a vulture. She was identified with some of the older goddesses, especially with Hathor. Her great cult-centre was Asher in Thebes,[61] but she was worshipped in other places, such as Diospolis parva, and Napata.

SATIS was goddess of the island of Elephantiné, and perhaps Nubian in origin. Her name *śti.t* comes from a root which means " to sow seed ", " to scatter ", " to copulate ", in reference, perhaps, to the fertilizing power of the waters of the Nile. She was believed to be the daughter of Rēᶜ, consort of Khnum, and sister of Anukis (*ᶜnḳ.t*). She was a water and moisture deity, as well as a goddess of inundation, who poured out and spread over the land the life-giving waters of the Nile. As such she was likewise a goddess of love ; and in later times she was an archer. She bore the title, " lady of Nubia ", " princess of Upper Egypt ", " lady of Egypt ", and from the time of the New Kingdom on she was also called, " queen of the gods ". Satis usually appeared as a woman wearing

Fig. 58
SATIS

the white crown and cow's horns. She was often identified with Amūnet of Thebes, in later times with Isis, and in Graeco-Roman times with Isis-Hathor. Her associates were Khnum, Anukis,

[61] Benson and Gourlay, *The temple of Mut in Asher*, London, 1899, *passim*.

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Sothis, and Rēᶜ—she was even called the "eye of Rēᶜ". The cult-centre of Satis was Elephantiné. She was adored also at Aswân and Bigeh. We do not know of any temple devoted alone to her; but most likely a chapel in the temple of Khnum was reserved for her. On the other hand many priests of Khnum, Satis, and Anukis are known.

The goddess BAST (*bȝśt.t*), "she of the city of *bȝś.t*", was a solar-goddess, representing the beneficent powers of the sun; in contrast to the goddess Sekhmet, who represented the destructive powers of the sun. She is best known as the cat-goddess of Bubastis. Her father was, of course, Rēᶜ. She bore the title, "lady of the East", and was sometimes considered a foreign deity. Bast was usually represented either as a woman with cat's head, holding

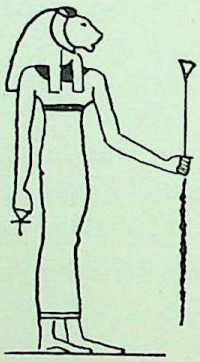

Fig. 59
BAST

a sistrum; or as a cat. Sometimes she appeared as a woman with the head of a lioness. Naturally, she was often identified with Sekhmet, and with Mūt, and was sometimes considered a personification of the moon. The Greeks identified her with Artemis. Her chief cult-centre was Bubastis, but she had a sanctuary also at Thebes.

SEKHMET (*śḫm.t*), "the powerful", was a lioness-headed goddess, sometimes merged, but usually contrasted with Bast, for Sekhmet represented the destructive heat of the sun. She was a war-like goddess, a "fiery one, emitting flames against the enemies". She was wife of Ptah of Memphis, and, therefore, mother of Nefertem. She was also considered mother of the deified Imhotep. Sekhmet was represented as a woman with the head of a lioness, surmounted

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by the solar disk and a *uraeus*. She was often identified with Bast, and sometimes with Mūt. Her cult-centre was Memphis, and as early as the time of Sahure she was especially adored, and later

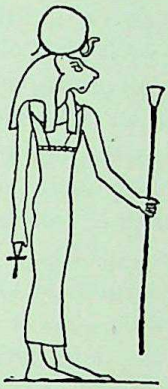

Fig. 60
SEKHMET

a little temple was erected to her near the site of the great pyramid of Sahure.[62]

The goddess THUERIS, or Taūrt (*tȝ-wr.t*), "the great one", Greek, *Θουῆρις*, was a domestic deity, goddess of childbirth. As

Fig. 61
THUERIS

a rule, she was considered a good goddess, protectress of the living and of the dead, and especially helper in child-birth. She was a

[62] Erman Religion, 144.

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universal mother, a heaven-goddess, eye of Rēᶜ, and especially protectress of women. She was daughter of Rēᶜ, and mother of Osiris and Isis, and yet she was considered wife of Set. This was, no doubt, due to the fact that she often appeared in the form of a hippopotamus and usually as a composite creature, with head partly that of a crocodile, partly that of a hippopotamus, back of a crocodile, body of a hippopotamus, and lion's feet. As wife of Set, she was later considered an evil goddess. As a goddess of child-birth, she was represented with pendant human breasts. Thueris was sometimes identified with Mūt, with Waḏit, and with Isis; and by the Greeks with Athena. She was associated with different deities, especially with Bes and Set. We do not know her chief cult place, but she was venerated at Oxyrhynchus, and at Thebes where she had her own temple, also at Deir el-Bahari. Her priests and festivals, especially of the later period, are well known.[63]

Ancient Egypt recognized many minor goddesses. The most important of these were :

ANUKIS (*ᶜnḳ.t*), sister of Satis and associate of Khnum. She was a water-goddess, originally located on some island in the First Cataract. Her name comes from a root, which means "to embrace", so she seems to have been a personification of that aspect of the waters of the Nile, which embrace and fructify the

Fig. 62
ANUKIS

fields. She was often identified with Nephthys; and was represented as a woman wearing a head-dress consisting of a number of feathers. Her cult-centre was Aswân.

[63] See for details, Roeder, "Thuëris (e.g. Toëris)", Roscher Lex.

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IPET was perhaps a personification of the sanctuary at Thebes called *'Ipt*. She appeared either in the form of a woman, wearing

Fig. 63
IPET

disk and horns on her head, indicating that she was a form of Hathor; or in the form of the goddess Thueris. (See above, chapter VIII, n. 83). Her cult-centre was Thebes.

ḤEḲET was a frog-headed goddess, sometimes supposed to have been a form of Hathor and mother of Horus the Elder. She

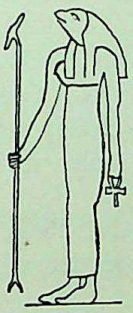

Fig. 64
ḤEḲET

was usually regarded as wife of Khnum, with whom she was associated in the work of creation. She was thus a goddess of birth, and as such was closely associated with Meskhent, goddess of the birth-seat. As consort of Khnum, she was worshipped at Elephantiné, but, as counterpart also of Sebek-Rē^{c}, she was worshipped also at Kom Ombo.

MEḤTURT was a cow-goddess, represented, as a rule, in the form of a cow with the solar disk between her horns. She was

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considered, therefore, a sky-goddess, and was often identified with Hathor.

MESKHENT was a birth-goddess, like Ḥeḳet, and may have been a personification of the brick on which women sat in child-birth. She was also a goddess of fate, and of the funeral chamber. With Ḥeḳet she was closely associated, as also with Isis and Nephthys. She usually appeared as a woman with a tall water-plant on her

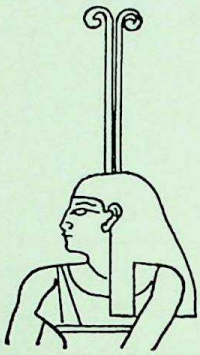

Fig. 65
MESKHENT

head.[64] She was also represented as a brick to which was attached the head of a woman.

NḤM.TᶜW3I, "she who rescues the plundered", was an aspect of Hathor, considered as a goddess of law and justice. As a patroness of justice she was closely associated with Thot. She was identified with both Meḥurt and with Seshat. Her cult-centre was Hermopolis, with Thot.

RENENŪTET, or ERNŪTET, was a harvest and nurse-goddess. She was often associated with Sebek.[65] Her usual form

Fig. 66
RENENŪTET

[64] Cf. Blackman, in *Volume offert à Jean Capart*, Bruxelles, 1935, 91-5.
[65] See JEA, 22 (1936), 215; cf. JEA, 19 (1933), 176.

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was that of a woman, sometimes with the uraeus as a head ; or that of a large uraeus wearing the solar disk and cow's horns on its head.

SERḲET was one of the four goddesses who assisted Nun and protected the four sources of the Nile. With Isis, Nephthys and Neit, she also protected the Canopic jars. She usually appeared

Fig. 67
SERḲET

as a woman with a scorpion on her head. Her consort was the god-demon Neḥebkau.

SESHAT was a goddess of writing, records, arithmetic, and architecture. Her name (*śś3.t*) means "the writer", and her functions greatly resembled those of Thot, with whom she was associated, now as his sister, now as his wife. She sometimes was identified with Hathor ; and sometimes with Nephthys as early as the Pyramid Texts (616). To the Greeks she was Clio. Her form was that of a woman wearing on her head a star-like emblem on a staff. She held in one hand a pen, and in the other either a

Fig. 68
SESHAT

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scribe's ink-palette or a notched palm-branch. Her mission was to mark the king's life-period on the palm-branch, and to help the king in measuring out the ground-plan of buildings.[66] She was an old goddess, and possessed a priesthood of her own as early as the Third Dynasty.

There were many other minor goddesses, such as, for example, Imentit, an ancient goddess of the western Delta; Iuniyt, "she of Hermonthis", and Ṯeneniyt or Ṯanent, female counterpart of Ṯenen (the ancient deity who became merged in the figure of Ptah), two consorts of Montu of Hermonthis;[67] Iusāas of Heliopolis, a Hathor-goddess and counterpart of Atum; Wnut, a hare-goddess of Hermopolis, and counterpart of Wnu; Hamḥit, a goddess in the form of a woman with a fish on her head; Ḥḏ.t, a Nile goddess; Ḥn.t, a pelican-headed goddess; Hat-meḥit, a fish-goddess, connected with the idea of resurrection, from which the fish derived his symbolic value of resurrection,[68] and counterpart of Banebdedet; Mafdet, an ancient lioness-deity,[69] a warlike leader, whose symbol was *šms*, "to follow"; Mḥ.t-wr.t, an ancient goddess, personification of the watery abyss, whence Rēᶜ arose, identified with Nut, also with Hathor (who was also Mḥ.t); Mr.t, goddess of music, and personification of the female element in the cult; Mr.t, a water-goddess, identified with Mūt; and Merti, a dual form of the same personification, no doubt representing the double Nile, North and South; Mertseger of Thebes,[70] patroness of the necropolis of Thebes and mistress of the West; Nb.t-ḥtp, a counterpart of Atum; Triphis, goddess of love, related to Isis and Hathor, also to Min, but known to us only from monuments of the Saite and Greek-Roman period, whose ancient name was Aprit; Menkeret, who carries on her head a young king of Lower Egypt (Chronique, No. 38 (1944), 209-11); Ḏd.t, a lioness-deity, another form of Tefnut and Hathor.[71] Finally, there were all kinds of functional goddesses and other female personifications, such as, a flame-goddess, a year-goddess, a calendar-goddess, goddesses of water-vessels, a goddess of gold, a personification of ritual washing,[72] and many others.

[66] Cf. Wainwright, in JEA, 26 (1941), 30-40.
[67] Mond Armant Temples, I, 33-4, 158-9.
[68] Bulletin, 28 (1928), 44-5.
[69] Bayer Religion, 520.
[70] Bruyère, *Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh*, Le Caire, 1929, *passim*.
[71] Junker Onurislegende, 105-6.
[72] Ḳbḥ.wt, OLZ, 1925, p. 143.

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CHAPTER XII

FOREIGN DEITIES

FROM the very beginning, before the rise of history, Egypt had been influenced by foreign thought, religious as well as secular. This we have clearly learned in the case of such great deities as Horus, Osiris, Rē^{c}, etc. There is reason to believe however, that early Egyptians did not set out to introduce into Egypt the cult of foreign deities. The influence of foreign religious thought came with foreign immigration into the rich Valley of the Nile. When Egyptians went abroad they, no doubt, temporarily worshipped the gods of the people among whom they found themselves. On their return home they resumed the worship of their own deities. In these early days Egypt was not an empire, and apparently had no great desire to become one. There were other countries with their deities, and Egypt was quite willing to live in peace with them, they with their gods and Egypt with hers. However, things did not remain thus always. After the time of the Middle Kingdom, in Egypt, a second Dark Age, a period of confusion and disorder, set in. During that period of weakness, from about 1788 to 1555 B.C., Egypt was open to invasion, peaceful and warlike, from all quarters, especially, because of the nature of the country, with its eastern and western deserts, from north and south —from Nubia in the south, and in the north especially from Syria. From both quarters, beginning with this period, religious ideas flowed. People came and brought their gods, conquerors over-ran the land and set up sanctuaries to their own gods. From the south came people, who, like the Egyptians themselves, had a preference for deities who manifested themselves in the form of animals ; from the north came warriors and hunters who worshipped deities of war and the chase, and Asiatics among whom the cult of fertility was popular and who worshipped gods and goddesses of fertility. Of the deities of these invaders and conquerors the Egyptians showed themselves exceedingly tolerant. Indeed, the rich mythology and the warlike character of some of these foreign deities, especially those from Western Asia appealed very strongly

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to the Egyptians. This was particularly true of the war-gods, especially when Egypt became a military state beginning with the New Kingdom. It is the purpose of this chapter to describe the more important of these foreign deities.[1]

Not long after the beginning of this second Dark Age in Egyptian history, there began a gradual infiltration of a group of people whom history calls the Hyksos. They were, it seems, a congeries of nations, mingled Syrians, Hittites, Aryans, under the leadership of Bedouin chiefs (Hyk-shasu), who poured into Egypt, and by means of their bronze weapons, horses, and war-chariots, overwhelmed the country, drove the native rulers up the Nile as far as Thebes, and then established themselves at Avaris, later called Rameses, and still later Tanis (Biblical, Zoan), and ruled Egypt until about 1580 B.C. Sometime between 1580 and 1560, Ahmose I delivered Egypt from the Hyksos, destroyed feudalism, and created a military state in Egypt. Now, the Hyksos were a military people, their deities were military gods, just the kind to be acceptable to the new military Egypt. These deities and other foreign gods and goddesses we shall now describe.

BAR (*bʿr*), Semitic Baʿal, " lord ", was introduced into Egypt, not later than the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, from Phoenicia. He was first and foremost a war-god ; but also a god of mountains and deserts, and may have been originally a personification of the burning and destroying heat of the sun and of the blasting desert wind. At the famous battle of Kadesh, Rameses II compared himself in war with Bār and with the Egyptian war-god, Montu. In writing his name, the Egyptians determined it with the animal Set, showing that they identified him with that Egyptian god. His consort was BAʿALATH, whom the Egyptians identified with Hathor. She was called ," lady of Kipu(na) " and " mistress of Ua(ua-t) ", and the centre of her cult was Byblos in Syria. The great sanctuary of Bār in Egypt was Tanis. There are no pictures nor statues of him extant, so we do not know what he looked like.

ASTARTE (*ʿs̱tiṟt.t*), Semitic ʿAshtōrōth, Hebrew ʿAshtōreth, was a war-goddess and patroness of battle. The earliest occurrence of her name in Egypt belongs to the reign of Thutmose III of the Eighteenth Dynasty,[2] though she might have been introduced long before that time. She was a Syrian goddess, and in Syria was

[1] Cf. Lanzone Diz, *passim* ; Budge Gods, chapter XVIII ; Müller Mythology chapter VIII ; Aegyptus, 13 (1933), 493 ff. ; Petrie, ERE.

[2] Müller, *Asien und Europa*, Leipzig, 1893, 162, 313.

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State Museum, LUCKNOW.

thought to be the consort of Ba'al, and in Egypt she was made wife of Set. She became a part of the Memphite cycle of gods, and as such was considered a daughter of Ptah. However, with Ānat she was called a daughter of the " master of the universe ", Rē^{c} (*Contendings*, 3, 4). In Egypt she bore the title, " lady of heaven, mistress of the gods ", " mistress of horses, lady of chariots ", and with Ānat she was called " shield of the king against his enemies ". She was also a mother-goddess and goddess of love, and was so well known to the Egyptians that her name served as a general designation for foreign goddess, and in the Greek period she was actually called " the foreign Aphrodite ".[3]

The only unquestioned representation of Astarte known at the present time is that in Naville, Mythe d'Horus, pl. XIII, where she appears with the head of a lioness, body of a woman, robed to the ankles, wearing the lunar disk, with a *menat* in the right hand,

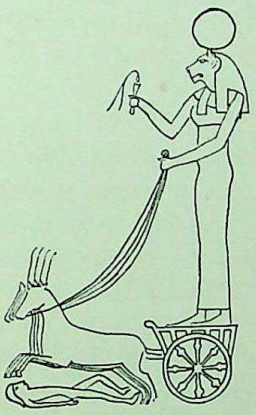

Fig. 69
ASTARTE

driving a war-chariot, the four horses of which trample on a prostrate foe. She was considered not only the daughter of Ptah, but also the equivalent of Sekhmet, his wife. She was likewise identified with Isis and Hathor, as a mother-goddess. In Greek times, she was Aphrodite. Through her identification with both Isis and Hathor, she was associated with both Horus and Rē^{c}, being also the daughter of the latter. Astarte was greatly honoured by being elected a member of the ennead of Memphis.[4]

[3] Mercer, ER, III (1935), 198.
[4] Gardiner in Griffith Studies, 74-85.

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Astarte certainly had a chapel in Memphis in the Greek period,[5] as well as a temple as part of the Serapeum.[6] As daughter of Ptah, she may have had a temple or chapel in Memphis as early as the time of Amenophis IV, when a priest occurs, who served her.[7] In an ex-voto to a goddess represented on a mutilated bas-relief of the Greek period, a sacrifice is being offered to a goddess, who may have been Astarte.[8] The Mythe d'Horus calls her " dweller in Apollinopolis magna ", where she may have had a sanctuary.

Very similar to Astarte, often confused with her, but quite distinct are three Syrian goddesses Ānat, Āsit, and Atargatis, all three of whom were worshipped in Egypt.[9]

ĀNAT (*ʿnꜣt*, also *ʿnṯi*, *ʿnṯt*, and *ʿntit*) was a war-goddess like Astarte. She was a daughter of Rēᶜ and wife of Set,[10] also like Astarte. With Astarte likewise she was called " shield of the king against his enemies ". She was represented in Egypt as a woman wearing the crown of Upper Egypt with plumes, armed with spear,

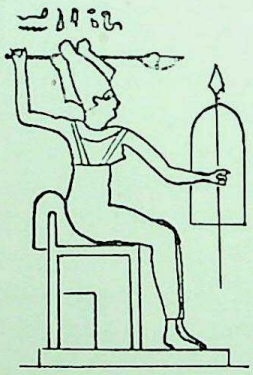

Fig. 70
ĀNAT

shield, and battle-axe. Quite recently two statues of Ānat were discovered at Tanis by Montet, which are the only ones of this goddess extant.[11] Ānat was usually associated with Astarte;

[5] Wilcken Ptolemäerzeit, I, 37, n. 2 ; Herod., II, 12 ; Mercer, ER, III (1935), 202-3.

[6] Mercer, ER, III (1935), 203.

[7] LD, Text I, 16 ; cf. Brugsch Rec., I, pl. 4.

[8] Bulletin, 25 (1925), 191 ff.

[9] Mercer, ER, III (1935), 195 ff.

[10] In Gardiner Gift, 61 ff. Ānat is not considered the wife of Set.

[11] Montet, *Les Nouvelles Fouilles de Tanis*, Paris, 1933, 167.

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and in the Elephantiné papyri she is found in a personal name combined with Bethel, and associated with Yahu, god of Israel.[12] She was worshipped side by side with Set at Tanis,[13] and a sanctuary was erected for her at Thebes by Thutmose III.

Another Syrian goddess in Egypt often confounded with Astarte was ĀSIT (*'śit*). She also was a war-goddess, and appeared in Egypt

Fig. 71
ĀSIT

as a woman on horseback, wearing the crown of Upper Egypt with plumes, and armed with spear, shield, and battle-axe.

Nor was ATARGATIS the same as Astarte. Even Lucian (*de dea Syria*) carefully distinguishes them, pointing out that there was a temple of Atargatis at Askalon alongside one of Astarte. Of her career in Egypt very little is known with certainty.[14]

RESHEPH (*ršpw*) was a Syrian war-god, and god of lightning, fire, and of the pestilence which follows in the train of war. His name means " thunder-bolt ". He bore the title " the everlasting, eternal great god, the lord of valour, the president of the company of the gods, lord of the heavens, governor of the gods ". Resheph appeared as a bearded man wearing a crown like the white crown of Upper Egypt, from the top of which hangs a streamer ; from the crown, above the forehead, springs the head or horns of a gazelle. He also carried various weapons, usually a shield, spear, and

[12] A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford, 1923, *passim* ; cf. M. Burrows, *What mean these Stones*, New Haven, 1941, 230.

[13] Montet, *op. cit.*, 167 ; cf. JEA, 19 (1933), 123.

[14] Wilcken, " Zu den Syrischen Göttern ", *Festgabe für A. Deismann* 60. *Geburtstag*, Tübingen, 1927, 1-19.

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battleaxe.[15] He was identified with Set, as well as with Shulmanu, an Assyrian god of battles. He was associated with Min, also with the Babylonian goddess Kent (*kanû*), a form of

Fig. 72
RESHEPH

Ḳedesh, and with Min and Ḳedesh formed a triad. Apparently there were other deities with the name Ḳedesh, for there are references to Ḳedesh-gods.[16] He had a sanctuary in the Delta called *Ḥ.t-Ršp*, but its location is uncertain.

ḲEDESḪ was a West Asiatic goddess of love and beauty. Her name is perhaps connected with the well-known Hebrew word

Fig. 73
ḲEDESH

ḳedhēshā (Assy., *ḳadištu*), which means a temple-prostitute, in which case she was the divine harlot of the gods. Indeed, she bore the

[15] Cf. Leibovitch, "Quelques nouvelles représentations du Dieu Rechef", Annales, 39 (1939), 145-75.

[16] See Erman Religion, 149.

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title " lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods, the eye of Rēᶜ, without an equal ". She was represented as a naked woman, full-faced and standing on a lion, and wearing the head-dress of Hathor, which, in one case, was surmounted by the full moon resting in the crescent moon. In her right hand she usually held a bunch of flowers, and in her left a serpent.[17] Ḳedesh may have arisen as a personification of " temple-prostitute ", a form of the Babylonian goddess Kanû, of the Syrian Astarte, and of the Egyptian Hathor. At any rate, she was identified in Egypt with Hathor, and also with Isis, as well as with Kent, and, as we have already seen, she, with Min and Resheph, formed a divine triad.[18]

SUTEKH (*śwṯ*) was a West Asiatic god, of uncertain nationality, but apparently the special god of the Hyksos. In

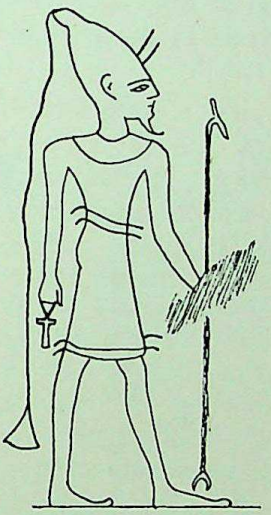

Fig. 74
SUTEKḪ

Egypt he was completely identified with Set, and his name was even determined by a god with a head of the animal of Set.

Since about 1934 archaeology has brought to light a new ancient Egyptian god, whose name is usually transcribed as ḤORON

[17] Lanzone Diz, pls. 191-2.

[18] Cf. Leibovitch, Bulletin, 19 (1919), 81 ff.; Ranke, " Aegypter als Götterkinder ", Ludwig Curtius zum 60. Geburtstag, Stuttgart, 180 ff.

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(*ḥwrwn*).[19] He may have been originally a Canaanite knight-god.[20] He might very well have been the ancient Egyptian god Horus, worshipped under the form Ḥoron at an early period in Canaan, first as a foreign god, who gradually became naturalized, and then later, as a Canaanitish god, was re-introduced into Egypt, just as other West Asiatic gods had been, and identified with Horus. Thus, we now see him, in the light of archaeology, as a Horus-god on foundation tablets of the time of Amenophis II,[21] as a falcon-god protecting Rameses II at his city of Tanis, and also as the well-known Horus on horseback, of the Graeco-Roman period. Ḥoron was a typically Horus-god, appearing also as Harachte ; and identified with Harmachis.[22]

The Nubian god DEDUN (*ddwn*), a war-god, must have been introduced into Egypt in prehistoric times, for, in the form of a bird of prey, he is found on objects of the time of Menes,[23] and he is mentioned several times in the Pyramid Texts. He bore the

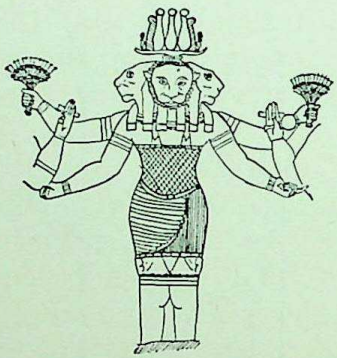

Fig. 75
A NUBIAN GOD

[19] See Mercer Horus, 135-6, with accompanying literature. Cf. the Arabic word *ḥurr*, " falcon ". The word appears in the Egyptian names Ḥoronemheb (instead of Ḥoremheb) and M3ᶜ.t-Nfrw-Rēᶜ-Ḥwrwn (Hittite wife of Rameses II) and in the Biblical names Beth Ḥoron, Ḥoronite, and perhaps also Ḥorites of Mt. Seir.

[20] See especially Albright, AJSL, 53 (1936), 1 ff. ; BASOR, No. 84 (1941), 7-12 ; Hanotaux, III, pl. VI, facing p. 304. For other theories as to origin, see Lefebvre, Annales, 20 (1920), 237 ff. ; Rostovtzeff Aegyptus, 13 (1933), 511 ff. ; Syria, 16 (1935), 279 ff. ; Cumont, *Mélanges syriens*, Paris, 1939, I, 1-9.

[21] See Capart, " Dépot de Fondation d'Aménophis II ", Chronique, No. 41 (1946), 46-7.

[22] Cf. RB, 1935, 157 ff., pls. V-VI ; Seele and Posener, JNES, 4 (1945), 234-44.

[23] Petrie Royal Tombs, I, *passim* ; cf. Quibell Hierak, pls. 19, 26, 34.

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title " young man of the South who cometh forth from Nubia ".[24] Dedun appeared either as a bearded man, or as a falcon perched upon a crescent-shaped object. He was one of the four gods who carried the ladder by which Pepi ascended to heaven (PT 1718). He was worshipped at Semna, near the Second Cataract, where in a temple of Khnum, built by Thutmose III, there is a picture of him, worshipped by a priestly official, " wearer of the leopard's skin ".

On account of his pygmy form and peculiar head-dress, BES (see above, chapter X) has been declared to have been a foreign god of Sudanese origin. ANUKIS (see above, chapter XI), usually represented as a woman wearing a peculiar crown of feathers, may also have been a Sudanese deity. MERI (or Meril), according to a text quoted by Brugsch,[25] came from Punt, and was represented as a naked man, wearing a neck-chain, with a heart amulet attached, and a pectoral.[26] He formed the third member of the triad of Talmis in Nubia. The goddess BAST (see above, chapter XI) has also been considered a foreign deity.

There were other minor foreign deities, who were recognized in Egypt, from time to time, such as : Aḥeś, or Iaḥeś (PT 1476, 994), an ancient Sudanese god ; Antaeus a late Roman warrior-god of Antaiopolis (ÄZ 47 (1910), 49) ; Apet, a goddess at Napata ; the Nubian Arsnuphis, a form of Osiris (PSBA 31 (1910), 33-6) ; Azizu, a West Asiatic form of Hadad, in Syene (Aegyptus, 13 (1933), 509) ; Ennukaru and Imait, Syrian goddesses (Budge Gods, II, 283) ; Ishtar of Syria and Assyria who was worshipped at Memphis, and who attended Amenophis III in his illness (Erman Religion, 151 ; Mercer Amarna, No. 23) ; Ituma, a Syrian god (Budge Fetish, 251) ; Jehovah, god of Israel, during the Persian period as Yahu, and later under the form Jao ;[27] Wḫ, a Libyan god (OLZ, 35 (1932), 521-3) ; Bairthi, a Phoenician goddess (Budge Gods, II, 281-2) ; Genneas, a Syrian god and form of Hadad (Aegyptus, 13 (1933), 509) ; Nana, a Syrian deity in Roman Egypt ; Neker, perhaps a form of the Babylonian goddess, Ningal (Erman Religion, 151) ; and Shahdidi, perhaps a Libyan goddess (Müller Mythology, 157).

[24] Cf. Steindorff, Griffith Studies, 362.

[25] Brugsch Dict., 954.

[26] Lanzone Diz, 958 f. ; Brugsch, Religion, 290 f.

[27] M. Burrows, *What mean these Stones*, New Haven, 1941, 230 ; Hanotaux, III, 358 ; ARW, 30 (1933), 34-69.

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In general, it may be said that there were two classes of foreign deities in ancient Egypt ; first, those, such as, for example, perhaps Horus, quite certainly Osiris, Rē^{c}, and Neit, perhaps also Hathor, who became thoroughly Egyptian ; secondly, both early deities from the south and late ones from Western Asia, who always remained foreign, such as, for example, Dedun, Astarte, Ḳedesh. In particular Syrian deities tended to be temporarily identified, the gods with Set, and the goddesses with Hathor or Isis ; while the Nubian and Libyan deities retained their identity.

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CHAPTER XIII

ANIMALS, THINGS, AND IDEAS AS GODS

TWO steps were taken consciously or unconsciously in converting animals, things, and ideas into deities; first, personification, the imputing to animals, things, and ideas, the qualities, attributes, and characteristics of a person; and, secondly, deification, the ascribing to them the qualities, attributes, and characteristics of a divine being. In this connection it is always assumed that the divinity presumes adoration and worship on the part of mankind.

From prehistoric times in ancient Egypt to the very end of her career, her people worshipped and adored personified and deified animals,[1] things, and ideas. In predynastic graves figures of animals and inanimate objects have been found in such surroundings and associations as to show that they were considered divine; and legends and myths reflecting prehistoric thoughts show that certain abstract ideas had been personified, deified, and adored. However, we must endeavour, in our study, to distinguish between animals, things, and ideas, which were actually worshipped, and those which were held in honour only and not necessarily worshipped. For just as many Greek gods were associated with certain animals—Zeus and an eagle, Athene and an owl, Aphrodite and a dove—which were but little more than symbols, so in Egypt we shall find that some animals and things were used as symbols of divine beings, but were never personified, deified, and worshipped. Now, the difference between veneration, honour, and respect, on the one hand, and worship and adoration, on the other, is, and was in ancient Egypt, a variable quantity. As in Christianity, the difference between the veneration and the adoration of a sacred relic varies with the venerator and the adorer, so it was in ancient Egypt. The same animal or thing, in the same town, adored and worshipped by some, was only venerated, respected, and honoured by others. We shall find that in ancient Egypt some animals and things always remained symbols of deities;

[1] Animal-gods were, no doubt, originally animals, as Sethe emphasizes in his Urgeschichte, 9.

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others were considered the abode of a deity; while still others were adored and worshipped as the actual and objective manifestation of deities. Thus, the goose as symbol of Amūn was not ordinarily worshipped, nor were the crossed arrows as symbol of Neit; but the ram of Khnum, and the *ḏd* of Osiris were abodes of these gods; while the Apis-bull, and the river Nile were considered the actual and objective manifestations of gods. Even here, the individual attitude, in ancient Egypt, toward the goose and crossed arrows, the ram and *ḏd*, the bull and river, no doubt, greatly varied.

The foundation idea of primitive and ancient Egyptian worship was animism. The Egyptians, like all other ancient people, had, at a very early date, arrived at the idea of the human soul or spirit. And this idea they applied to all else in their world, inanimate objects, animals, and cosmic bodies. In doing so they personified them, and ascribed to them all their own qualities, attributes, and characteristics. They spoke of stones, trees, mountains, animals, birds, reptiles, fish, and other things as if they were human beings. Thus, for example, they spoke of the pregnancy of a field as if it were that of a woman.[2] They even personified abstract ideas. Thus, for example, truth was personified as Maat, writing as Seshat, magic as Ḥeka. Then for various reasons, personified animals, things, and ideas were deified, as gods, goddesses, or demons. Either every individual of the species, and every example of the whole class, was deified; or a fixed number, or one individual or example thereof, was chosen and deified. (That is, each and every bull or ram, for example, might not, as a rule, be deified; but it might be only some particular bull or ram.) Whenever a personified animal, thing, or idea was deified, it was believed either that it became the abode of a deity; or that it became the actual and objective manifestation of a god, goddess, or demon. In the first case it was the deity *in* the personified animal, thing, or idea, which was the object of worship, and not the animal, thing, or idea itself; in the second case it was the animal, thing, or idea itself, in its actual and objective form, which was a deity, and which was, therefore, worshipped. This throws light upon the composite representation of many of the deities. Thus, Horus appeared as a falcon-headed man. In prehistoric times the falcon was not only the symbol of Horus,

[2] "I give to thee that field which will be pregnant in time", Roeder Dakke, I, 109.

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but also Horus himself. But Egyptian deities were anthropomorphic, that is, they were personified, and the personification came to be expressed by means of a human figure. Therefore, the god, being a falcon, personified, took the form of a falcon-headed man. The god, consequently, was incarnate in a composite form, and in that actual and objective manifestation received divine adoration.[3]

In short, it was possible in ancient Egypt to interpret or understand any animal or thing, religiously, in three different ways, first, as the symbol of a deity, secondly, as the abode of a deity, and, thirdly, as the actual and objective manifestation of a deity. All three, or any two, of these interpretations could, and probably were, held often in a confused way by the same person. And one interpretation could easily pass or shade into another.

How the ancient Egyptians came to worship animals and things no one really knows. Since the time of Herodotus (II, 65-76, III, 28) men have tried to solve the problem. Diodorus (I, 21 ff., 83-19 ; IV, 6) advanced various theories. One was that animal worship arose from the use of animals as standards or ensigns by army divisions, and the victorious division or army ascribed its success to the animal, which then gradually was deified ; another that the goddess Isis demanded that priests adore certain animals who aided Osiris in his work of agriculture ; still another that animal-worship was ordered by some early king ; and a fourth theory to the effect that gods fearing men took refuge in animals. Plutarch (IO, 71-7) shared the first of the theories of Diodorus, as outlined above ; but Lucian thought that astrology was the source of animal-worship.[4] Philo, Jews, and early Christian writers all ridiculed the worship of animals by Egyptians, without any serious attempt to explain it. Some modern scholars, such as Loret, tended to agree with the above theory held in common by Diodorus and Plutarch. Others, such as Wiedemann, held the opposite point of view, namely, that an animal was first worshipped, and then his image was taken as a standard. But that is no explanation of animal-worship at all. Modern study of primitive man makes

[3] Wiedemann and others believed that the original Egyptians worshipped animals. Then immigrants arrived from Western Asia, who worshipped gods in the form of men. The two ideas were amalgamated, with the passage of time (Wiedemann, *Der Tierkult der alten Aegypter*, Leipzig, 1912, 27 ff. ; cf. Muséon, VI, 113 ff. ; Hopfner Tierkult, 23 ff.). Cf. on the other hand, Sethe Urgeschichte, 14, 30.

[4] Hopfner Tierkult, 4 ff.

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it quite clear that he was accustomed to attribute to animals a vastly more complex set of thoughts and feelings, and a much greater range of knowledge and power, than they actually possessed. Personification, deification, and worship were due in general to a respectful and reverent attitude of mind towards all animals, things, and ideas, which were strange and unpredictable.

In general it may be said that location may have been an element in deciding which animals were worshipped, for certain animals were sacred in certain districts. Thus lions were usually worshipped at borders of deserts and entrances to wâdis, crocodiles at cataracts, and jackals in cemeteries. No doubt, the idea that some animals possessed mysterious power, that some possessed a good or an evil spirit, that some inspired fear, awe, disgust, that some were considered stronger and wiser than men, that some were useful and some familiar—all these and other ideas must have had something to do with the custom of deifying animals, things, and ideas in ancient Egypt.[5] Of course, animal-worship was carried to excess. Instead of regarding as sacred the representative of a particular species, the whole species often was adored; and Herodotus (II, 65) remarks that when a man killed a sacred animal, if he did it with malice he was punished by death; and even if unwittingly he had to pay such a fine as the priests chose to impose; but in the case of an ibis or falcon, whether it was killed by accident or on purpose, the killer had to die.

It seems neither possible nor probable that the whole species to which a deified animal or plant belonged was worshipped. Most likely one individual example of a certain species of animal or plant was chosen, in some now unknown manner, and recognized, in some unknown way, set apart, fed, attended and worshipped. This example, then, was the abode of a god, or was the actual and objective manifestation of a god. The other members of the same species were considered holy, out of respect for their "elder brother", but they were not considered gods. When the "elder brother" died, another member of the same species was chosen, recognized, and set apart as divine. Such a divine animal or thing had his temple, priests, endowments; and when the animal died he was mummified and buried with pomp. That does not, however, mean that every mummified and carefully buried animal had been

[5] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 15. Totemism and fetishism as theories of the origin of animal-worship will be discussed in the chapter on the Idea of God (XVIII).

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a god, as some students have assumed. For example, the rat has been found mummified, but there is no evidence that it ever was actually deified in ancient Egypt, any more than are carefully mummified storks in northern Germany, or dogs in America. Immense quantities of mummified cats, crocodiles, ibises, dogs, falcons, etc., have been found in Egypt. They were all, no doubt, considered holy and dear, but, it is pretty certain they were not all thought to have been gods.

Some modern scholars, like Budge, used to think that in prehistoric times animals were worshipped as animals (Budge Gods, I, 27), but from what has been said above, it seems more likely that in ancient Egypt, at least, gods were considered to be inwardly *not* beasts but men, with human qualities, attributes and characteristics. Before an animal became a god, he was personified and deified. That is, gods were mentally represented as men, whether in the external form of men, of animals, of things, or in compound external form.

In general it may be said that Egyptian deities were represented under the form of an animal or thing, in which form the great majority of deities appeared ; under a composite form in which the animal or object was joined to a human body ; or under the form of a human figure, with some detail of costume or adornment which revealed the identity of the deity.[6] The order of these three forms is chronological, the first being predynastic, the second previous to the Old Kingdom, the third being the latest, but still quite common as early as the Fifth Dynasty, for in the temple of Sahure there are very interesting anthropomorphic figures of the Ocean, the corn-god Nepri, etc., with their bodies marked with wavy lines, or dotted with seeds.[7] In the earliest times the animal or thing adored appeared on a pedestal ; then the animal or thing appeared with some human feature added, such as a falcon or a staff with human arms ; and finally the deity in pure human form. At first it was generally the greater deities who took pure human forms such as Geb, Osiris, Isis, Ptah, Min, etc. But as primitive peoples believed that men, animals, and things could assume different forms at will, so there were all kinds of variations of the above three-fold scheme. Some gods appeared

[6] Thus, the lotus goddess, Nefertem, carried a lotus on her head ; Neit carried her weapons in her hand ; Hathor wore cow's horns with a sun-disk.

[7] Perhaps the very oldest in complete human form are representations of the deities Wadit and Ash of the Second Dynasty (Sethe Urgeschichte, 30).

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in human mummified-form, such as Ptah and Min ; Ptah with one leg, no arms, but two hands ; Min with one leg and one arm. Sometimes the god of Hermopolis appeared as a man with a lion's head, but with the ears of a mule ; the goddess Satis had on her head the Upper Egyptian crown with antelope horns ; Khnum appeared as a falcon with the head of a ram ; and Bastet appeared as a falcon with a cat's head, etc. However, the Apis-bull of Memphis, the Mnevis-bull of Heliopolis, the buck of Mendes, and the hippopotamus-deity almost always remained animal in form, except in late times.[8]

As a rule it was the living animal which the Egyptians adored, but not always so, as the mummified form of the falcon of Horus shows.

The most usual composite form of a deity is that of a human form with an animal's head. This form was an attempt to give definite expression to the personified and deified idea of the object of worship. The earliest extant example of an animal-headed deity has been found on seals of the Second Dynasty. Out of the animal-headed form grew, at a later period, all kinds of composite forms.

The chief animal-headed deities are : Set with his head in the form of an unknown animal ; Horus with a falcon's head ; Thot with the head of an ibis ; Anubis with the head of a dog or jackal ; Sebek with that of a crocodile ; Khnum with that of a ram ; Montu with that of a falcon ; Bastet, cat-headed ; Sekhmet with the head of a lioness ; and Harsaphes, a ram-headed god. With the exception of Horus, these deities appear only in the animal-headed form.

The most important animal-worship in ancient Egypt was that of the bull,[9] and its cult was one of the earliest, having been very common in the Delta long before the time of Menes.[10] From then until well into the Roman period bull-worship flourished, especially in the earlier and later periods. Both gods and kings were called " bulls ", for the bull symbolized strength in nature, in animal and in human fertility. The bull was considered not only the abode of a god, but also his actual and objective manifestation ;

[8] See Otto Stierkulte, 58 ff. ; cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 31.

[9] There is a voluminous literature. See, for example, Hopfner Tierkult ; Otto Stierkulte ; JEA, 19 (1933), 45.

[10] Newberry, AE, 1914, 8 ; cf. Otto Stierkulte, 1, n. 1-3. One of the best-known prehistoric nome-symbols is that of a bull.

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and this was especially true of the Apis-bull. Although no bull ever appeared as a god independent of the god, or gods, whom it manifested. Thus, the Apis-bull always represented and manifested Ptah ; Mnevis always manifested Rē^{c}, or Osiris, etc. The same is true of all animal-deities.

Great care was exercised in selecting the particular bull to be recognized as the manifestation of the god. Herodotus (II, 38) tells us that a priest appointed for the purpose was to search to see if there was a single black hair on the whole body of the candidate-bull, since in that case the animal would not do.[11] Other members of the species than the one selected were considered holy, but not the object of divine adoration.

The three bulls most often recorded in Egyptian inscriptions as divine are : the Apis-bull of Memphis, the Mnevis of Heliopolis, and the Buchis of Hermonthis. These bulls were regarded as the manifestations primarily of gods of the cities where they were worshipped, Apis of Ptah, Mnevis of Rē^{c}, and Buchis of Montu.

Although Aelian[12] says that the worship of the Apis was established by Menes, we have yet no sufficient evidence that he became officially recognized as a god until the time of the first king of the Second Dynasty (Sethe Urgeschichte, 31). However, the Palermo Stone would seem to indicate that a cult of the Apis was recognized before the end of the First Dynasty.[13] At any rate, we know that between the time of Rameses II and the Ptolemaic period, twenty-four Apis-bulls had been worshipped in succession in Memphis.

The Apis was called " a double of Ptah " (*whm n Ptḥ*), " the living Apis ", " the life of Osiris ", and from the first he was a Nile-god, and a god of fertility in general. He was primarily a manifestation of Ptah, but, especially by the Greeks, he was considered an incarnation of Osiris. When he died, his soul was thought by the Greeks to go to heaven and there unite itself with Osiris, forming the dual god, Osiris-Apis, or Serapis. He was closely associated with Seker, Atum, and with all moon-gods. During his lifetime, he was enthroned and had his festivals and

[11] Other traditions say that the Apis had to be a black bull, with white marks, and conceived by a ray of light descending on its mother. That is, he was an incarnation of the sun, although he was represented with a moon's disk between his horns.

[12] *De Natura Animalium*, XI, 10.

[13] JEA, 16 (1930), 263.

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temples, was worshipped, and consulted in oracles, and after his death he was mummified. From the Eighteenth Dynasty until the end of the Ptolemaic period, the Apis was buried in the Serapeum of Memphis at Saḳḳâreh, where over sixty tombs have been found.

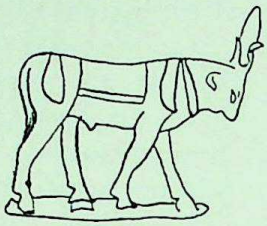

Fig. 76
APIS

Before the end of the reign of Ptolemy Soter there was a Serapeum at Alexandria, Athens, in Cyprus, Rhodes, at Antioch, Smyrna, Halicarnassus, and others later. The greatest triumph came to the Apis-cult when it entered Rome in 80 B.C.

The Mnevis-bull (*mn-wr*) was worshipped in Heliopolis since the Second Dynasty. He was considered an incarnation or manifestation of Rē^{c}, and was represented as black and white, wearing

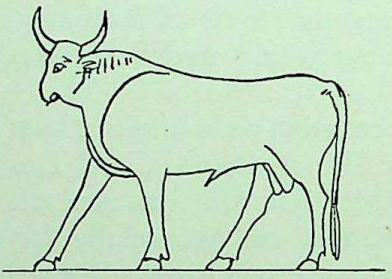

Fig. 77
MNEVIS

the solar disk and the uraeus between his horns. The Mnevis was called " the living sun-god, Rē^{c} ", and was a god of fertility. He also was closely associated with Osiris, both before and after his death ; and appeared likewise as Atum-Mnevis.[14]

The worship of the Buchis-bull (*bḫ*) was of late origin, the earliest known stela of whom comes from the reign of Nekhthorheb

[14] Mond Bucheum, I, 2, 13.

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(Nektanebus II) dealing with the inauguration of his cult at Hermonthis.[15] The Buchis was a black bull, regarded as the manifestation of Rēᶜ and Osiris, and represented with solar disk and two plumes between his horns.[16]

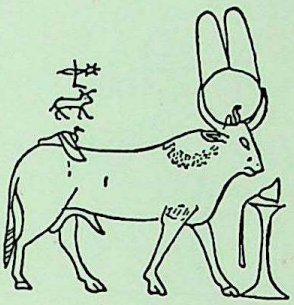

Fig. 78
BUCHIS

Besides these three great bull-gods, there were others, as well as bulls which were mere symbols and titles of gods. Thus, there were the Ka-nub or Kanobos (Canopus), the Bata of the Tale of Two Brothers, the *bḏ*-bull ; the bull was a symbol of Min, of Montu ; and Amūn and Montu were " the strong bull ". There were nome-bulls, bulls of the future world, bulls of the sky, a bull of Maat, a bull of the gods, etc.[17]

The cow as the actual and objective manifestation of a goddess is predynastic, as we have already seen in our study of Hathor. Not only Hathor, the great cow-goddess, but also Nut, the sky-goddess, was believed to be revealed in the form of a cow long before the time of Menes. And the cow was also, at least, an emblem of Isis, Nephthys, and Mūt.

The buck of Mendes, called *bȝ-nb-ḏd.t*, " soul of the lord of Busiris ", that is, " soul of Osiris ", just as he was *bȝ-Amūn-Reᶜ*, " soul of Amūn-Rēᶜ, was, just like the three great bulls, already described, an actual and objective manifestation of a god. And this can be traced back as early as the beginning of the Second Dynasty (Sethe Urgeschichte, 31). This god, Banebdedet, appeared

[15] Mond and Myers, *Temples of Armant*, I, London, 1940, p. 157 ; cf. Mond Bucheum, II, 46 ; JEA, 16 (1930), 240 f.

[16] Cf. Aelian, Nat. An., XII, ii ; Macrobius, *Saturn*, I, 26. See also Otto Stierkulte, 40-56 ; Vandier, *La Religion égyptienne*, Paris, 1944, p. 224 f.

[17] Cf. Otto Stierkulte, 4.

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in the form of a buck (or ram), with solar disk and uraeus between its flat, branching horns, and was also regarded as a manifestation of both Osiris and Rēᶜ. His most usual title was "living buck", and was a procreative god. Various gods manifested themselves in the form of a ram, Amūn of Thebes, Khnum of

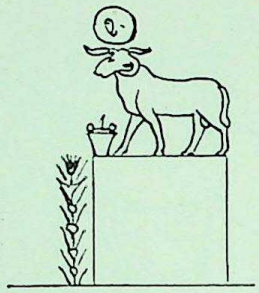

Fig. 79
BUCK OF MENDES

Elephantiné,[18] and Harsaphes of Herakleopolis. The Greeks equated him with Zeus. At the annual feast of Amūn, a ram was slain, and an image of the god was wrapped in its skin. The body was mourned, and then buried in a sacred tomb.

Lions and lionesses are found in prehistoric figures and in late amulets. In Egyptian mythology the tunnel, through which the sun was supposed to have passed during the night, was thought to have had a lion at each end. The lion was associated with Horus and Rēᶜ, but only as symbols. However, the god Shu appeared in the form of a lion. Goddesses were more often thought to have been manifested in the form of a lioness. Thus, Sekhmet of Memphis and Nubia; Tefnut of Dendera, El-Kâb, Elephantiné, and Nubia; and Bast of Bubastis, Leontopolis, Tell el-Yehudiah, and Letopolis, were goddesses who manifested themselves in the form of a lioness.

Bast was also represented as a cat, and was a symbol of the beneficent powers of the sun. She works for Rēᶜ against the great serpent Apophis. The cat was worshipped as an actual and objective manifestation of the goddess Bast in the city of Bubastis. Many carefully embalmed cats have been found by modern excavators.[19]

The dog was honoured in ancient Egypt, from the earliest times; they were often mummified and carefully buried, in particular at Cynopolis (cf. Strabo, XVII, 812); but there is no decisive

[18] Also at Hermopolis, JEA, 19 (1933), 160-1.
[19] Cf. M. O. Howey, *The Cat in Mysteries of Religion and Magic*, London, 1930.

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evidence that it was ever worshipped, nor that any god was ever thought to have made the dog his abode.[20]

The jackal (or dog, see note 20) was the actual and objective form which the great god Anubis of Asyûṭ (Lycopolis) assumed. Wepwawet of the same place revealed himself under the form of a jackal (or wolf). The jackal (or dog, or wolf?), as Anubis, was adored also at Cynopolis (el-Ḳês) and at Abydos. One of the four sons of Horus, Duamutef, was also represented as jackal (or dog-headed.

Thot was thought to appear sometimes in the form of a cynocephalus ape. There were supposed to have been eight of them. One used to sit on the pillar of the scales, whose duty it was to scrutinize the pointer. The shrew-mouse was considered sacred at Buto, at Athribis, and at Letopolis, and it used to be embalmed at Thebes. Among the many animals connected with Atum was the ichneumon, which was also considered sacred at Herakleopolis, but antagonistic to the crocodile of the Faiyûm on whose eggs it used to feed.[21]

Serpent worship in ancient Egypt was common and varied.[22] It seems to have been based on the idea of the serpent as the good genius of the house and of the temple. However, serpents were considered harmful and evil as well as useful and good. Thus, Apophis was evil, while Waḏit was good. They were highly regarded in ancient Egypt, but they were also feared and abhorred. In some parts the crocodile, for example, was worshipped, in others he was feared and avoided. The uraeus or cobra appeared in prehistoric times in ancient Egypt, and throughout Egyptian history was regarded as a symbol of royalty. Thus, there was a uraeus as symbol of Upper as well as of Lower Egypt, and the disk of Rē^{c} had a uraeus coiled round it. Goddesses were often manifested in the form of a uraeus, for example, Waḏit as a uraeus was worshipped at Buto, Mertseger at Thebes, and Renenūtet the goddess of harvest and divine nurse. The greatest of all the enemy serpents was Apophis, the opponent of Rē^{c}, a demon of storm and darkness, which we have already described in chapter X. There

[20] Reisner, BMFA, 34 (1936), 96-9. If the "jackal" of Anubis is really a "dog", this would form an exception to the statement in the text.

[21] Cf. Roeder, "Das Ichneumon in der aegyptischen Religion und Kunst", ER, IV (1936), 1-48.

[22] E.g. Hopfner Tierkult, *passim*; Zimmermann, AR, 131 ff.; Junker Götterdekret, 5 ff.; Erman Hymnen, 8 ff.

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were many other serpents, many of which were considered demons. The scorpion was always held in fear and regarded with terror. It was the emblem of the famous predynastic king, " Scorpion ". The goddess Selket, associate of Isis, Nephthys, and Neit, but also of Set, appeared as early as the Pyramid Texts (e.g. 183, 1061) as a scorpion, and even Isis manifested herself in the form of a scorpion in Abydos (Budge Gods, II, 213).

Throughout the long history of ancient Egypt, beginning in predynastic times the god Khepri, a man with a scarab-beetle instead of a human head, was worshipped. He was a form of Rē^{c}, as he appeared in the morning, and his cult-centre was Heliopolis. He was the symbol of immortality and eternal life, and protector of the dead. His worship was general all over Egypt, and the scarab became the commonest of all religious amulets.

The oldest of all bird-cults in ancient Egypt was that of the falcon, which has been discussed in chapter IV.[23] Horus was

Fig. 80
FALCON

the original and chief falcon-god, but many divine beings were thought to have manifested themselves in the form of a falcon, and there were falcon-goddesses as well as falcon-gods. The falcon became the most revered of all birds in Egypt, and both Herodotus (II, 65) and Strabo (XVII, 812) record that anyone who killed a falcon, intentionally or not, was put to death. The *bnw*-bird, a bird of the heron class was considered an incarnation or manifestation of Rē^{c}. He is supposed to have been created by the fire which burned at dawn on the top of the persea tree in Heliopolis. The Greeks are thought to have identified him with their phoenix. (See, however, note 51 of this chapter.) As an emblem of resurrection, he was thought to have sprung from the heart of Osiris. The

[23] See for details Mercer Horus, *passim* ; cf., in general, AAA, II, 49.

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goddess Mūt of Thebes appeared as a vulture, and so did the ancient goddess Nekhbet of Nekhen, Eileithyiaspolis, El-Kâb, of Upper Egypt. The vulture was the emblem of maternity. Thot was manifested in the form of an ibis, the centre of whose worship was

Fig. 81
BENU

Hermopolis. Mummies of the ibis have been found at Memphis, Abydos, and Thebes. It symbolized knowledge and research. The goose was identified with Geb the earth-god, was sacred to Amūn-Rē^{c} in Thebes, where he was sometimes worshipped under that form, and a goose-goddess, Sert, was called the "Great Cackler" (BD, 54), who was thought to have laid the cosmic egg, whence all things came. The swallow symbolized Isis. The ostrich, shells of whose eggs have been found in predynastic graves, may have been considered sacred, but there is no evidence as to what deity it represented. The famous *ba*-bird was always considered a symbol of the soul, but not worshipped.

The god Sebek was actually and objectively manifested in the form of a crocodile, whose cult-centre was Crocodilopolis in the Faiyûm. But many other secondary gods were thought to have appeared in the form of a crocodile.[24] He was very much feared, so he was treated as an enemy by some, though worshipped by many others. Those who lived near Lake Moeris or near Thebes regarded the crocodile with special veneration; but the inhabitants of Dendera hated him.[25] Already as early as the Fifth Dynasty Sebek has been found with the body of a man and the head of a crocodile, and the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty, who had their residence near the Faiyûm were especially devoted to Sebek.[26] The crocodile-god was sometimes represented wholly in animal form, sometimes

[24] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 13, n. 4; Erman Religion, 44.
[25] See Herod., II, 69; Juvenal, *Sat.*, XV.
[26] Bulletin, 28 (1928), 117, 154.

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mummified as an idol, and sometimes as a man with the head of a crocodile. The crocodile served as an emblem of Set, the enemy of Horus. At an early period, Sebek was closely associated with Rē^{c} ; later with Osiris, and during the Ptolemaic period with Geb. His worship was widespread ; he had a place in the ennead of Thebes ; and was adored in the Faiyûm, at Ombos, and in many other places.[27]

A goddess Thueris manifested herself in the form of a hippopotamus. She was patroness of child-birth, and worshipped at a very early period. Her home was in the Delta. The goddess Ḥeḳet appeared in the form of a woman with the head of a frog, symbol of reproduction. The place of her worship was near the island of Elephantiné.

There was a turtle-god, represented as a seated man with the

Fig. 82
TURTLE-GOD

head of a turtle. He was called Apesh, and seemed to have sometimes taken the place of Apophis. The turtle was represented in stone in predynastic times. The fourth sign of the zodiac (*štȝw*) is determined by a turtle,[28] and the deceased was made to say (BD, 83) that he clothed himself like the turtle. Apesh was associated with the powers of darkness, night, and evil, and, as it seems an enemy of Rē^{c} (BD, 161).

A green stone model of a fish (Br. Mus. No. 24319) dates from the predynastic period, but there is no evidence that a fish-god was then worshipped. However, during the dynastic period several

[27] Bulletin, 28 (1928), 155 ff.
[28] See Budge Fetish, 92, and fig. p. 93.

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species of fish appear to have been worshipped or venerated, the oxyrhynchus at Behnesa, the eel or phagus at Phagroriopolis and Syene, the latus at Latopolis, the maeotes at Elephantiné, the lepidotus at several places, especially at Abydos, and the dolphin was worshipped at Mendes as consort of the buck. Fish were associated with the sign of life and with that of perfection.[29] The lepidotus was adored as an objective manifestation of Osiris. The *3bḏw*-fish occurs very often in medical, mythological, and magical texts. It was thought to reveal a god, who was a brother of Horus.[30]

Many other animals were honoured, or adored as symbols, abodes, or manifestations of divine beings, such as, *Wnw.t*, a hare-goddess, panthers, rats (cf. above, in this chapter, p. 231), otters, lizards, millipedes, flies or bees, and grasshoppers. However, pigs were considered unclean, and the horse was apparently too new. To most animals there was attached a sacred character, generally or in special localities, and some even became the *kas*, or souls, of the gods, such, for example, as the Apis-bull, the *ka* of Ptah.

According to the theory of animism, all kinds of non animal objects, especially those giving signs of life, or associated with mystery, awe, respect, were at different times and at varied places looked upon as the symbol of, the abode of, or the objective manifestation of, a divine being. They were therefore honoured and often worshipped. Among non animal things most frequently adored as divine were certain trees and plants, in which divine beings made their abode, and by means of which they were manifested.[31] As early as the Pyramid Texts (1485-7) the sycamore tree (*nh.t*) was addressed as the abode of Osiris. It was likewise considered the abode of Nut and Hathor, who concealed themselves in their foliage. It was the sycamore south of Memphis, which also was supposed to be located on the way to the underworld. There is no evidence, however, that all sycamores were the object of adoration. The sacred persea-tree (*'išd*) was the abode and manifestation of Rē^{c}, out of which the sun-god rose daily at Heliopolis. It was guarded by a cat, and offerings were made to it.[32] The *pḳr*-tree was associated with Osiris, especially at Abydos (ÄZ, 41 (1904), 107-10).

[29] Bulletin, 28 (1928), 45.

[30] Jéquier Dict, 24 f.; cf. Baslez, *Les poisons dans l'antiquité égyptienne*, Paris, 1932, *passim*.

[31] Cf. Hopfner Tierkult, 176; Sethe Urgeschichte, 59; Wiedemann Aegypten, 276; RT, 38 (1916-17), 8; AE, 1928, II; JNES, 6 (1947), 80-97.

[32] JEA, 17 (1931), 72; cf. ÄZ, 60 (1925), 7.

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The *'im3*-tree of Momemphis was sacred to Hathor, who was called "lady of the *'im3.w*-trees". Then, other trees were sacred such as the tamarisk, in which the coffin of Osiris lodged; the olive tree, the abode of Horus; the fig tree; the olive tree; the cypress; the

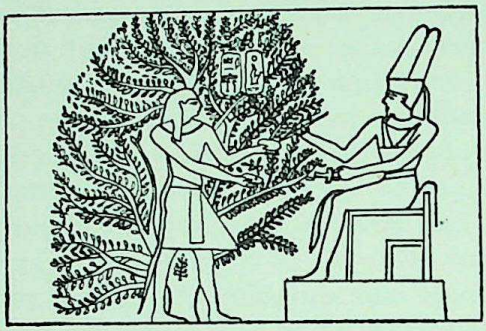

Fig. 83
PERSEA-TREE

fir. The lotus was a manifestation of the Memphite god, Nefertem, and the abode of Rē^{c};[33] and many other plants were considered the symbol, abode, or manifestation of divine life, such as the lettuce of Min, the bean, garlick, onions.[34] Indeed, just as it was commonly thought among primitive people that the souls of men could with ease be transferred to plants, so the Egyptians found it easy to think of gods dwelling in plants, and manifesting themselves in them.[35]

Not only trees and plants; the Nile (Ḥapi), its inundations (Bāḥ), and its inundation season (Akhet); springs, like that at Heliopolis; and stones, like the famous *benben*-stone, were adored and worshipped, but likewise the work of men's hands. Thus, the temple of Rameses III at Thebes was personified and deified and represented in female form standing behind the Osirid King with her arm around the monarch's shoulder and saying, Behold, "I am behind thee. I am thy temple, thy mother, forever and forever."[36] The temple even has its own *ka*, like a god, which embraces the pharaoh and says, "Behold, I am behind thee. I am thy temple, thy mother."[37] Indeed, as early as the Pyramid age Osiris was

33 Sethe Urgeschichte, 18; BMMA, 33 (1938), 182-4; JA, 1917, 499 ff.
34 Cf. ÄZ, 59 (1924), 140; RT, 34 (1912), 13; Sethe Urgeschichte, 18.
35 Cf. Zimmermann, AR, 80-2; ARW, 32, 174 ff.
36 Nelson, JNES, I (1942), 131.
37 Nelson, *op. cit.*, 132.

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identified with the temple and pyramid of the dead king (PT 1657-8). Thus, pyramids were personified and deified,[38] and so were portions of cities, obelisks, and pillars. A part of the city of Thebes was personified and apparently deified as Ipet,[39] and so was the obelisk of Rē^{c}.[40] At first, at least, statues were clad with real garments, into which a soul, a bird with a human head, descended from heaven to animate them, and then by the magical rite of the Opening of the Mouth, they were deified, when they became "living images". They were then treated like deities.[41] Later, however, they were merely painted, and gradually adoration changed to mere honour and respect.[42] The royal crown, too, was treated as a deity (PT 194; AE, 1926, II, 39), both that of the South as well as the Red Crown. It was the Eye of Horus, and the sun-god himself, as well as his own daughter.[43] In like manner were the royal staff and sceptre deified and adored.[44] So were the Sistrum of the goddess *Nḥm.t-^{c}wȝii* of Hermopolis, the crossed arrows of

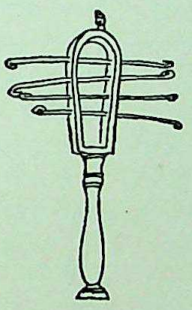

Fig. 84

SISTRUM

Neit, the thunderbolt of Min, the "teeth"-ensign of Sopdu, the *ḏd* of Osiris, and the symbols of the deities *Dwȝ* and *Ṯnn.t*, as well

[38] ÄZ, 70 (1934), 56-83.

[39] Lanzone Diz, 23-4.

[40] RT, 24 (1902), 167 ff.; cf. Evans, *Jr. of Hellenic Studies*, 21 (1901), 99-204; and Isis seems to have been regarded as a personification of the king's throne, for she bore the epithet *'iś.t wr.t.*

[41] Baudissin, ARW, 18, 173 ff.

[42] Foucart, *Sur le Culte des Statues*, Paris, 1902, *passim.*

[43] Erman Hymnen, *passim.*

[44] Sethe Urgeschichte, 19; RT, 25 (1903), 184-90.

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as that of Sheshat and the *'imi.wt* of Anubis.[45] Even members and parts of the human body were deified and treated as gods. Thus, there was a beard-god, the teeth were deified, there was a phallic god, and the royal placenta was deified, just as was the " knot " (vulva, or girdle ?) of Isis.[46] Fire was, of course, important in ancient Egypt, and was regarded with great reverence, but there is no clear evidence that it was ever deified and adored.[47] However, there was a goddess of the birth-brick (Meskhent, see above, chapter XI) ; there was a beer (*ḥnḳ.t*)-goddess (JEA, 13 (1927), 189 f.) ; there was a god of the oil-press (Shemsu) ; the tears of Rē^{c} were personified (Rem) ; the *bḏ*-natrons were personified ; and a hide in which is a spear (see note 43 in chapter VIII above) was personified and identified with Anubis. All these personifications and deifications were more or less, commonly or rarely honoured, adored, or worshipped, depending upon the religious character and emotions of the worshipper.

Abstract deities arose as a result of the personification and deification of abstract ideas. They differ from other deities, in general, only in that there are no myths nor legends about them, no great festivals were associated with them, and they were not the object of an official cult. It is rather difficult to draw the line between abstract deities and deities in general. For example

Fig. 85
NEFERTEM

[45] Sethe Urgeschichte, 19 ; JEA, 18 (1932), 159 ff. ; ARW, 19, 452 ff.

[46] Budge Gods, I, 109 ; Ranke, OLZ, 27 (1924), 558 ff. ; Sethe Urgeschichte, 19 ; Budge Fetish, 63 ; Herod., II, 48 f. ; JEA, 3 (1916), 235 ; AE, 1930, 72 ; Griffith Studies, 132 ; Moret Nile, 361.

[47] See, however, Bibl. Egypt, 35, 385-422.

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Thot may be considered an abstract god if we think of him as a personification and deification of learning. But he was that and much more besides. The same is true of Min as the father-god, Hathor as the mother-goddess, Nefertem as god of vegetation growth, Seshat as goddess of writing, and even Nut as sky-goddess. Indeed, any deity may be considered an abstraction, for, in reality, gods are merely figments of the human mind. However, our classification of abstract deities will include only such personifications and deifications as "truth", "magic", "authoritative utterance", etc.

The most famous of all the abstract deities was the goddess Maat (*mȝᶜ.t*). She was created by the personification and deification of the abstract conception of truth. Sometimes she appeared in a two-fold capacity, as goddess of truth and goddess of justice. She was represented as a woman with a feather on her head. As an abstract deity, she had neither temples nor offerings, nor even an official cult. However, she was always represented as a deity. The divine property of magic, often believed to be attained and used by human beings, was personified and deified as Ḥeka (*ḥkȝ*), who enjoyed the title "lord of *kas*, heir of Rēᶜ-Atum".[48] Ḥeka was especially identified with Thot, and closely associated with Isis. The relationship between magic and prayer will be discussed in chapter XXIII. Ḥu was the god of authoritative utterance.[49] He was represented as a bearded man, and often attended Rēᶜ in his solar barque. The god Sia (*śiȝ*) was the personification and

Fig. 86
SIA

[48] Gardiner, PSBA, 1915, 253 f.; Lacau, TR, Nr. 78.
[49] Gardiner, PSBA, 1917, 138.

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deification of intelligence, and, like Ḥu, was represented as a bearded man, and attended Rēᶜ in his solar barque. Both Ḥu and Sia appear in the *Onurislegende* like Thot as bearers of the eye of Horus. Sia was closely associated with Thot. Maa (*mȝȝ*) was a god of sight ; and Sedem (*śḏm*) was a god of hearing. These four gods, Ḥu, Sia, Maa, and Sedem, are sometimes called the gods of the four senses, but it is questionable whether the Egyptians themselves ever so classified them.[50] Moreover, taste and smell find no representation among these four gods. Joy and happiness seem to have been personified and deified as two goddesses, Awt-ib (*ȝw.t-'ib*) and Ḥetpet (*ḥtp.t*). However, it is certain that the idea of fate was made into a god of destiny, who was associated with Renenet as a goddess of fortune. The god of fate was Shai (*šȝi*), who was represented first as a man, later as a goat, and still later as a serpent. In the New Kingdom, he appeared as consort of the goddess Meskhent. There were still other abstract deities, such as Bin, evil ; Ḥeḥ, eternity, with a female counterpart, Ḥeḥet ; Seḫem, energy ; and life (*ᶜnḫ*), death (*mw.t*), health (*śnb*), glory (*ḫᶜw*), etc., may also have been personified and deified, but like all abstract deities they received no public worship, and must have had their origin in the concrete and objective nature of Egyptian thought and expression.

Finally, certain fabulous animals, myths, entirely imaginary, were conjured up, imaginatively personified and deified. The

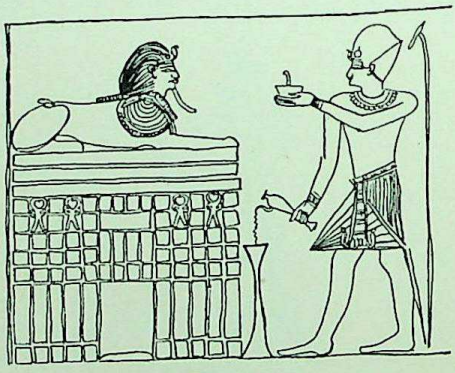

Fig. 87
SPHINX

most famous and important of all of them was the sphinx. The Egyptian word for sphinx was *Ḥm-ȝḫ.t*, that is Harmachis, a form

[50] See Müller Mythology, 66-7.

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of Horus. The sphinx was usually represented as a reclining lion with the head of a man. The best-known example is that of Gizeh, who is supposed originally to have represented the pharaoh Kephren, later the sun-god. But he could appear also as falcon-headed or ram-headed, and standing as well as lying, in the form of a ram or a griffin, sometimes winged, and sometimes with human hands, and he could represent a god or a king, and though usually male, also appeared as a female. These composite figments were natural to the Egyptians, who saw them as merely external forms of royal or divine inmates. But in classical times they were considered real, even as unthinking people to-day represent to themselves a phoenix, a griffin, a mermaid. Their function was considered that of a guardian, and they were associated with the ideas of wisdom, mystery, and power. As a rule the sphinx was worshipped as Harmachis. Another fabulous creature was the *benu*-bird (*bnw*) of Heliopolis, which was considered an incarnation or manifestation of R$\bar{e}^{c}$, and as such was worshipped. Herodotus naively said that he had never seen the phoenix,[51] but declared that it came to Egypt only once in five hundred years when the old phoenix died (II, 73). There were also the fabulous beast, *ᶜḫḫ*, a species of antelope, perhaps a griffin ; the dolphin-goddess, *ḥz.t-mḥi.t* ; and the famous *ᶜm-mw.t*, " eater of the dead ", who was present at the judgment after death to devour the souls of the wicked, and who appeared as a creature composed of a crocodile, a lioness, and a hippopotamus.

[51] The Egyptian *bnw* is the heron ; but the birds described by classical writers as the phoenix of the monuments are clearly not the *bnw*. It is, therefore, questionable whether we should identify the *bnw* with the phoenix.

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CHAPTER XIV

DEIFIED KINGS AND MEN

THE theory made popular by Grant Allen that the worship of the dead is the basis and root of all human religion was said by him to apply also to Egyptian religion. According to this euhemeristic theory, gods are merely the dead deified and worshipped. The dead are taken to be relatives, ancestors, and worship was, therefore, originally ancestor-worship. According to the same theory the divinity of kings is a survival of ancestor-worship. To the minds of the ancient Egyptians, the difference between gods and human beings was so little that they never seemed to have differentiated between gods and ancestors. Their belief that the gods ruled as kings in prehistoric times, and that the earliest human-kings were the real offspring of the gods, would seem to confirm a belief in ancestor-worship. Again, the Egyptians believed that any man, after death, may be identified with the gods, and that, therefore, his ancestors, after death, were identical with the gods, and, as such, were worshipped. A corroboration of the belief that the Egyptians did not make any distinction between the gods and their own ancestors is sought in the use of the divine determinative with the word for ancestors ;[1] and in the fact that the daily services of the gods of the Eighteenth Dynasty were so much like those performed daily for the dead kings of the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Dynasties.[2] It would seem to be a matter of course that since the pharaoh was a son of his god, the cult he celebrated[3] would be ancestor-worship. Thus all Egyptian worship would be an ancestor-cult, as the pharaoh, in theory, was the only high priest and sole offerer of sacrifice.[4]

On the other hand, in view of the elaborate liturgy and ritual of real ancestor-worship, such as is found, for example, among the Hindus, in the worship of father, grandfather, great-grandfather, in contrast to the complete lack of any such liturgy and ritual

[1] Amélineau, *Prolégomènes à l'étude de la Religion égyptienne*, Paris, 1908, I, 365.

[2] Budge Osiris, 254.

[3] Moret Royauté, 150.

[4] Moret Royauté, chapter VII.

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in the mass of mortuary literature, which has come down to us from ancient Egypt, the verdict of such men as Hall, Gardiner, and Pirenne is, no doubt, the correct one, namely, that no real ancestor-worship ever existed in ancient Egypt.[5] Nor was there any cult of the dead as ordinarily understood by students of the history of religion. Any man duly buried became a soul, a glorious one, an honoured one, a powerful one (e.g. PT 1730), a divine being, and specifically an Osiris. Such a dead man, now an Osiris, was adored not as a father, grandfather, or great-grandfather, but as an Osiris. This so-called cult of the dead was in reality the cult of Osiris, for the dead was not a separate god, he was identified with Osiris, that is, he was Osiris. So that whatever may be said about the cult of the dead in other ancient religions, there was no such cult strictly speaking in Egypt. Stelas to the dead were memorials, and tomb-chapels were not dedicated to the worship of the dead man himself, but to the worship of the dead man *as Osiris*.[6] The case of Antinous, in late Egyptian times, who was drowned in the sacred flood (Nile), attained divinity, and was acclaimed and worshipped as a god throughout Egypt,[7] is not to be considered on a par with the supposed worship of a dead man, deified, and worshipped as a distinct god. The case of Antinous is like that of Imhotep, in principle, which will be discussed below.

From first to last in the history of ancient Egypt the pharaoh

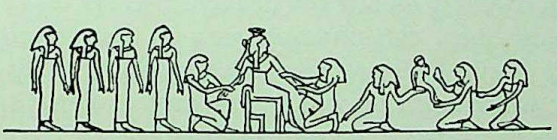

Fig. 88
KING'S DIVINE BIRTH

was deified.[8] According to the Egyptian way of thinking, all men, at death, might become divine, provided they succeeded in

[5] Hall, "Ancestor Worship and Cult of the Dead (Egyptian)", ERE, I, 440-3; Gardiner, "Life and Death (Egyptian)", ERE, VIII; Pirenne, "Le Culte funéraire en Egypte sous l'Ancien Empire", *Mélanges Franz Cumont*, Bruxelles, 1936.

[6] See Hall and Gardiner, *op. cit.*; cf. Gîza, I, 41 ff. "Souls" of cities, such as Heliopolis, were deceased Kings.

[7] M. A. Murray, "The Cult of the Drowned in Egypt", ÄZ, 51 (1914), 127-35; cf. JEA, 11 (1925), 191 ff.; Griffith Studies, 402-5.

[8] Cf. Moret Royauté, *passim*.

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passing the ordeal of the judgment of Osiris ; but the king became divine at his birth, receiving full consciousness of it at the time of his crowning. Nor was the idea unreal to the Egyptian mind. The pharaoh was believed to be in body the very flesh of the gods.[9] As early as the time of Sesostris III, we meet with the expression *s3 n ḫ.t.f*, " son of his[10] body ", and it occurs very often after that time. He was also called *s3 n ḫpr.f*, " son of his procreation ". The god said to him, *s3 n ḫ.t.i tw mtw.i*, " thou art the son of my body whom I have begotten ". The king's body was called *nṯr ḫ.t*, " divine body ", and he himself was called *s3 n ḫ.t.f Rēᶜ*, " the bodily son of Rēᶜ ".[11] The pharaoh's most common divine title was *nṯr nfr*, " good god," and he, as well as the gods, was called also *nṯr ᶜ3*, " great god ", after his death, and likewise during his lifetime, at least in the Old Kingdom[12]—perhaps also during the Middle and New Kingdoms.[13] He was the " eye of Rēᶜ " (PT 698, 704), he dwelt with Rēᶜ and Thot (PT Ut. 210), he was born before creation (PT 1466), superior to Rēᶜ (PT 813 ; Ut. 362), " the incarnation of the creator-god,[14] father of the nome-god,[15] " creator of all things " (PT 1146), first-born of Nut and son of the body of Geb and his heir (PT 1-2), more august than any god (BAR, I, 240), received homage from the gods (PT Ut. 510), a mighty god without equal (PT 619), a devourer of the gods (PT Ut. 273). He became a cosmic figure, vast and great (PT Ut. 362 ; 1146, 1156), dwelling among the heavenly bodies as a star (PT 141, 537). Among men, the pharaoh was an incarnation of Horus, Osiris, Rēᶜ, Amūn-Rēᶜ, and like other gods, had his symbol, the bull, under which form he was represented as early as the time of Narmer (on the famous Palette of Narmer). Not only did the Egyptians possess an ancient legend about the divine birth of the first three kings of the Fifth Dynasty,[16] but, beginning with queen Hatshepsut, it became common to represent, in pictorial form, the

9 Gods, according to the ancient Egyptians, were very much like men. All human attributes were ascribed to them.

10 The pronoun refers to Rēᶜ, whose son the pharaoh was thought to be as early as the Fourth Dynasty.

11 BAR, I, 786 ; Sethe, *Urkunden*, IV, 86, 17.

12 Meyer Geschichte, §§ 236 ff. ; *Urkunden*, I, 9, 48, 88 ; BAR, I, 250.

13 Stela in the Louvre, C 169 ; cf. de Rougé, *Cat.*, p. 139 ; Stela of Abydos, 21-3.

14 Jacobsohn, *op. cit.*, 28.

15 Jacobsohn, *op. cit.*, 20.

16 Pap Westcar, I, 55.

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divine parentage of the sovereign.[17] There are extant at least three such descriptions, namely, those of Hatshepsut, Amenophis III, and Caesarion ; and perhaps there were others, as fragments show similar scenes in the case of Rameses II.[18] In these pictures, the carnal relationship between the god and the mother, the actual birth, the god's receiving of the new-born child, and the nursing by a goddess are all vividly portrayed.[19] The pharaoh was a god both before and after his death. This was also true of queens.[20] But there is no evidence that foreigners recognized the deity of Egyptian sovereigns.[21]

The ancient Egyptians believed that there was a time when the gods ruled as kings upon earth ; that is, each district or nome believed that its particular god had been at one time its king or leader. These god-kings were succeeded directly, in historic times, by a line of human rulers who were considered the bodily and spiritual offspring or incarnation of the gods. The last god-king, it was believed, left Egypt to the first human-king as an inheritance. The human-king was inalienably connected in the mind of the Egyptian with the god-king. He was his heir, and was, in very fact, divine. Hence, the human-king assumed titles which indicated his close relationship with the late god-king. He was called " the Horus ", for he was believed to be that god (who was considered the last god-king of Egypt) in visible form ;[22] he was completely identified with Osiris (whom the Egyptians believed was of divine origin, but had probably lived in human form upon earth) in the earliest times ;[23] and later with Rē^{c} (who was considered by some to have been the first god-king of Egypt).[24] He was also identified, even limb by limb with Atum (PT 135), all but the face, which was identified with Anubis, and limb by limb with the gods who were themselves identified with Atum (PT 147-9) ; and even with Amūn-Rē^{c} (JNES, I, 155 and 150). The king was thus considered

[17] Moret Royauté, *passim*.

[18] Moret Royauté, 60-1 ; C. Campbell, *The Miraculous Birth of King Amon-Hotep III*, London, 1912, 48 ; cf. ÄZ, 61 (1926), 52 ff.

[19] Moret Royauté, 50 ff. ; Naville Deir el-Bahari, II, 12 ff., pls. 46 ff.

[20] E.g. Hatshepsut, already mentioned, and Nefertari, queen of Rameses II (JNES, I (1942), 142).

[21] See, for example, the treaty with the Hittites (BAR, III, 370 ff.).

[22] PT, 7 ; PT Ut., 219, 466-7, 1777-8.

[23] PT, 3-5, 8 ; PT Ut., 219 ; PT, 632 ; PT Ut., 373 ; PT, 1194-5, 1833, 2022-3.

[24] PT Ut., 587.

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the last of the gods, but the first of men—more god than man. In other words, the chasm between the gods and the king was very narrow indeed.

The Egyptian approached his king as he would a god, and yet the king was amenable to law in his life-time ; and when he died, in order to reach heaven, he was obliged to go through the same process as a common mortal. That, however, was only a detail showing the usual Egyptian anthropomorphic idea of deity, for the Egyptians really believed that the pharaoh was an incarnate god (*Rēᶜ pw m ḥᶜ*, " the god Rēᶜ incarnate ".[25] He was a god from his birth, as well as after his death, and at his death he was succeeded by one who also was divine.

As to the way in which he became divine, it may be repeated, to begin with, that the first human pharaoh succeeded the last god-king, inheriting his divine nature as well as his throne, and this divine nature was handed on from one pharaoh to another. Added to that was the theory of the divine fatherhood of the first three kings of the Fifth Dynasty as well as that of Hatshepsut, which for the Egyptians was not a fiction, but an earnest reality, and a testimony that all pharaohs were born as a result of a union between a god and the queen.[26] Then, from birth on every precaution was taken to preserve and nurture the divine qualities of the king.[27] When the royal and divine child came of age the gods purified him, crowned him with the double crown, embraced him, consecrating him, in order that the divine life might abide with him, and performed for him the rites of divine service. By performing for the gods the same services which they had performed for him, the pharaoh renewed his own divine nature, daily. The king then assumed the costume and guise of the gods, objective signs both of divinity and of royalty,[28] after which the king was presented to his subjects.[29] The ceremony of divinization or apotheosis, references to different parts of which are found in literature of all periods from the Pyramid Texts to Herodotus,[30] must have been quite elaborate, and perhaps somewhat similar to the daily divine service, with ritual of vestments, and ablutions, prayers, hymns, and music.

[25] Stela of Kubban, l. 18.
[26] Cf. Moret Royauté, 49, 72.
[27] See Moret Royauté, 62.
[28] JEA, 19 (1933), 71.
[29] Moret Royauté, 78.
[30] E.g. PT 25 ; Herod., II, 90 ; ÄZ, 46 (1910), 132.

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Evidence of the worship of the deceased pharaoh may be found on every page of the religious history of ancient Egypt. From Menes to the very end of royal rule in Egypt, the kingly cult can be traced. It consisted not only in a funerary cult like that of all Osirian dead, but also in the rich daily and festival services of the gods in which the deceased pharaoh appeared side by side, in every temple, with other gods, as their associate. Thus, for example, the cult of the first king of United Egypt, Menes, was celebrated from the earliest to the latest times.[31] It is not possible to say whether queens were worshipped with the same regularity and uninterruptedness, but from the time of the Fourth Dynasty, when the deceased wife of Khasekhemui, who was also the mother of Zoser, was worshipped,[32] down through Egyptian history, examples of the cult of deceased queens can be quoted, such as the queens of Ahmose I[33] and of Rameses II.[34]

About the worship of the living pharaoh we cannot be certain. Some of the greatest Egyptologists have taken a negative view of this question. Equally great ones have taken an affirmative view. Thus, Moret believed that as soon as the pharaoh was crowned he received divine worship, that sanctuaries existed for the worship of the living king, and that the living monarch received divine worship in the " Chamber of Adoration ". This was one of the main conclusions arrived at by Moret in his important book *Du Caractère religieux de la Royauté pharaonique*. Six years after the publication of that book, Moret published for the first time a stela in the Cairo Museum (No. 34037), in an article,[35] in which he sought to prove that Amenophis I and his mother Nefertiri were worshipped during their lifetime. Maspero[36] held the same view, and so did many other eminent scholars. On the other hand, such Egyptologists as Steindorff, who has said that " on Egyptian soil the king had never been the object of a cult during his lifetime ". " This step was first entered upon in foreign parts in Nubia."[37] In

[31] Weill Origines, 31 ff., especially 32, n. 1.

[32] Bayer Religion, p. 1097 ; Petrie RT, II, 32.

[33] JEA, 4 (1917), 188-9.

[34] BAR, IX, 988, I ; Breasted History, 446.

[35] Moret, " Culte du Roi en Egypte ", *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, Oxford, 1908, I, 216 ff.

[36] *Journal des Savants*, 1899, 406.

[37] Steindorff, *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, New York and London, 1905, 161.

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this statement Erman concurred ;[38] and such a careful student of the history of religions as George Foot Moore said " there is no indication that religious worship in any form was paid the living ruler " in Egypt.[39] Sethe has said that the first to receive such worship during their lifetime were the Hellenistic kings of the Ptolemaic period.[40]

Between these two extremes, there has been a tendency to find a solution. Already Erman, in 1907 was beginning to make some qualifications, in saying that during his lifetime the king was accorded no formal worship with temples, etc., at any rate not in early times.[41] And now Dr. Nelson of Chicago has thrown some welcome light on the subject. In an important article published in April, 1942, of the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, entitled " The Identity of Amon-Re of United-with-Eternity ",[42] he brings out some points very important in an attempt to solve the problem before us. On page 146 he writes : " The mystical conception involved in the performance of mortuary services for the Osirid king while the king himself was still alive does not seem to me incompatible with other contradictory ideas apparently readily accepted by the Egyptians." Again on page 150 he writes : " The mortuary temples in the necropolis . . . were probably erected primarily for the mortuary service of the Pharaoh when he should join the company of the gods as an Osirid king . . . This service, we may assume, was initiated as soon as the temple began to function, even during the lifetime of the monarch—the mystical conception involved in this dual aspect of the Pharaoh being not foreign to Egyptian religious thinking." He shows on pages 154-5 that Amūn-Rēᶜ was not only identified with the Osirid king, that is, the deceased king, but also, by anticipation, to the same king before his death. This explanation throws welcome light also upon the interpretation of the text of the stela published by Moret, above referred to, in which two persons are represented, by word and picture, in the act of worshipping the king Ahmose I, presumably dead, also the queen Nefertiri, perhaps still living, as she is called *ᶜnḫ.ti*, and their son Amenophis I, apparently still reigning. Amenophis I, and perhaps also Nefertiri, were thus worshipped as Osirids *by anticipation*,

[38] Erman, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, London, 1907, 36-8, 197.
[39] Moore, *History of Religions*, New York, 1913, I, 150.
[40] " Heroes and Hero-gods (Egyptian) ", ERE, VI, 647-52.
[41] Erman, *op. cit.*, 37.
[42] H. H. Nelson, in JNES, I (1942), 127-55.

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but not as a living king and queen-mother. There is no doubt but that the living king was treated as a god, but whether he was actually adored and worshipped as such is still very questionable—the above theory of Nelson may point to a solution. But in the Graeco-Roman period, there is no doubt that living emperors were worshipped.[43]

As we have seen, any Egyptian might become an Osiris, a god, and receive recognition as such from the living. There were, however, certain great men, during the course of Egyptian history, who, because of their own worth, in their own right, and not because they had been Osirianized by death, were deified, long after their death, and worshipped as gods. The most famous and greatest of them was the wise man Imhotep (*'ii-m-ḥtp*), priest, diplomat, physician, and architect of the great king Zoser. He was deified

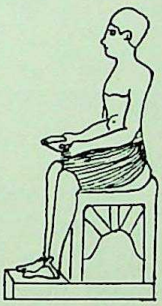

Fig. 89
IMHOTEP

in Saitic times and became quite popular as a god with the Ptolemies, especially during the reign of Euergetes II. He was associated with Thot, the Hermes of ancient Egypt, as well as with the creator-god Ptah, and was identified during the Saitic period with Nefertem. He was the Greek Asklepios. It was believed that, as god, he was the son of Ptah and Nut. He was regarded primarily as the patron of wisdom, especially of the science of medicine and of exorcism. As a priest, shaven, seated, and holding open a papyrus roll on his knees, he was usually represented, and he was especially adored at Memphis.[44]

[43] Wilcken, "Zur Entstehung des hellinistischen Königskultes", *Stzb. d. Preussisch. Ak. d. W., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1938, 298-321; Hanotaux Histoire, III, 357.

[44] Cf. Erman Religion, 326-7; Sethe Urgeschichte, 29.

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Another important deified man was Amenophis, son of Hapu of the Eighteenth Dynasty, wise man and architect of the reign of Amenophis III. He, like Imhotep, was deified during the Saitic period, and worshipped at Thebes. He was usually represented as a bearded man, holding a roll of papyrus. In Ptolemaic times he

Fig. 90

AMENOPHIS, SON OF HAPU

was called Amenophis son of Paapis, and was worshipped in association with the great gods Osiris and Amūn.[45]

At least two other persons by the name of Amenophis were especially deified and worshipped in late times. They were the two kings, Amenophis I and Amenophis III of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Amenophis I, together with his mother Nefertiri (see above), was worshipped as guardian deity of the Theban necropolis, his cult-centre being Thebes. He was represented as a king with a beard and sometimes his flesh was coloured black. Amenophis III was especially worshipped in Graeco-Roman times, and was identified by the Greeks with Memnon son of the Dawn, and called Pramarres.[46]

Many other human beings, no doubt, were also especially deified and worshipped. Thus, a certain vizir Isi, father of *Ḳ3r*, of the time of Teti I, was deified as early as the end of the Middle

[45] Cf. Erman Religion, 326-7.

[46] Griffith, in JEA, 12 (1926), 225; Jouguet, in *Mélanges Gustave Glotz*, Paris, 1932, II, 497 f.; Erman Religion, 394. Thus, Herodotus's statement that the cult of heros did not exist in Egypt is proven false (cf. Bibl. Egypt, XL, 1916, p. 141).

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Kingdom, and called *nṯr ᶜnḫ* ;[47] Puyemrēᶜ ;[48] Kagemni ;[49] Teos ;[50] Neferhotep ;[51] certain high priests of Heliopolis and Memphis of the Ptolemaic period ; as well as those drowned, especially in the Nile.[52] All such worship, of course, constituted special cases of deification, and are to be distinguished from the universal custom in ancient Egypt of pouring libations and burning incense, by a son, for the benefit of his deceased parents, who were happily Osirianized.[53]

[47] Alliot, in Bulletin, 37 (1937), 93-160 ; cf. Orientalia, VIII (1939), fasc. 1-2. Cf. to the contrary Weill in RE, 4 (1940) 215-17.

[48] Davies Puy, II, 33, cf. also 10, 26.

[49] Cf. Alliot, *op. cit., passim.*

[50] Vandier, *La Religion égyptienne*, Paris, 1944, 211-12 ; ZÄ, 78 (1942-3).

[51] Posener, in Bulletin, 34 (1934), 75-81.

[52] Griffith, in ZÄ, 46 (1910), 132-4 ; Rowe, in Annales, 40 (1941), 1-50 ; Leibovitch, in Annales, 40 (1941), 301-3.

[53] Budge (BD), p. 311.

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CHAPTER XV

COSMIC AND OTHER NATURE DEITIES

THE very essence of animism, which is the best general explanation of the origin of the gods in ancient Egypt, demands a recognition of cosmic and other nature-elements in the very beginning. It stands to reason, that the most obvious of all the mysterious things in the everyday world of primitive man were the sky, with its sun, moon, and stars ; the earth ; the air ; rain and moisture ; the great river, for the Egyptian ; and the sea, for those who lived in sight of it. All these phenomena, no doubt, gave birth to wonder, awe, respect, reverence, in the heart of the primitive Egyptian. He may not have, at first, actually worshipped them as he would the great boulder, the strange tree, the flowing waters, the soaring falcon, the stealthy jackal, the patient ox. These latter were more within the grasp of his thought and contemplation. They entered more obviously into the circle of actualities where he lived. And yet they were all to him filled with mystery and awe. These latter are the things with which, at first, he actually tried to come to terms, whose assistance he tried to secure, whose goodwill he wanted to have, whom he addressed, besought, coaxed, cajoled, and whose protection and friendship he wanted to be sure of. And all the time, the primitive Egyptians—or, at least, the more intelligent of them—did not forget the greater phenomena. In their more thoughtful moments they must have felt that these great objects were the most mysterious and most important of all. It was only the more poetic and more philosophic among these early men, the more ecstatic and more imaginative who could address these wonderous things ; and they did address them, and did try to secure their friendship. All men regarded them with awe and reverence ; some adored and worshipped them. So the world of the primitive Egyptian was full of divinity, small and great, familiar and awesome.

With the passage of time, two important things happened in the awakening and expanding religious life of the Egyptians. First, they gradually came to visualize the great phenomena of nature in the form of man, animal, or inanimate object, and, by the natural, but mostly unconscious, process of personification and deification,

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they represented to themselves, the sky, sun, moon, earth, river, ocean, etc., as human beings, as animals, or as a combination of both. Secondly, the more educated and learned tried to bring order and system to these numerous objects, small and great. Deities small and great were classified and arranged into families and other groups. Then, myths and legends began to grow and develop, and more especially about the greater deities, whose nature and being challenged intelligence and imagination. It has been said that fully nine-tenths of the myths of ancient Egypt are cosmic in origin, that is, that they grew up around the nature and being of the world's greatest phenomena. That is probably a fair estimate. But, in time, a certain harmonization went on between these myths of the greater divinities and the sayings, stories, and theories about the local personified and deified animals and things.

The earliest form of individual and group worship in ancient Egypt, as elsewhere in primitive times, was, no doubt, the attention paid to, and simple reverence and adoration of, local animals and things, personified and deified. Parallel with that there, no doubt, existed a consciousness of the divinity of the great phenomena of the world, but group worship of them, or even individual worship, was difficult to formulate, because of their very vastness and incomprehensibility. That accounts for the fact that there never were any temples of Nut, the sky, or Geb the earth, or Nun, the abyss ; nor were there ever any cults of these great deities. Nevertheless, they were reverenced and adored as great gods and goddesses—no doubt, mostly by the more intelligent and educated. The common man believed they were living and divine, but he did not know how, nor did he find it easy to address, honour, or worship them. The sun, the moon, the river, could be more easily grasped, for they were more tangible, and so under the form of men, or of a combination of man and animal, they could be visualized by the simple as well as by the intellectual, and were consequently worshipped. Even these were not as easily grasped by the multitude as were a falcon-god,[1] a bull-god, or even a mother-goddess. These latter, with Rē^{c}, the sun, Osiris, god of resurrection, and Amūn,

[1] The falcon-god was a very ancient prehistoric sky-god, and as such was worshipped long before the beginning of history ; but it was the sky symbolized by, or in the form of, a falcon—a form which could be grasped and comprehended by a simple and primitive people. In like manner could the sun-god as a disk of the sun be grasped and comprehended ; but Nun and Geb were more difficult to become familiar with. The earliest representation of cosmic gods was that of an animal, e.g. the sky as a cow, the sun as a beetle, etc.

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imperial god of Thebes, were the objects of nation-wide worship, with their temples, rites, and ceremonies.

The chief great cosmic deities were Nun, Atum (with his additional forms of Rē^{c} and Khepri),[2] Nut, Geb, Shu, Tefnut, and I^{c}ḥ (the moon). Others name five great cosmic deities, Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, and Nut ;[3] or Ḥapi, Atum, I^{c}ḥ, Geb, and Nut, with the Four Winds as one, making six.[4] With the passage of time, many other deities were identified in various ways with the great cosmic forces.[5] But none of the great cosmic deities were at first local in the strict sense of the term, although some of them naturally tended to become localized according as they were recognized and worshipped by specific communities.[6] Thus, while Geb and Nut never had a cult place, Atum (Rē^{c}) was localized at Heliopolis. On the other hand, many deities, in time, became earth and sky-gods and were definitely located.

Although the imagination of prehistoric Egyptians concerned itself with the earth, the sky, the sun, long before it discovered the idea of a deep and boundless watery mass out of which had come into being the heavens, and the earth, and everything that is in them, the thinkers and theologians of historic times, in attempting to reconstruct the way in which the gods and all things came into being, imagined, personified, and deified this boundless watery mass as the first great self-produced divine being and called him NUN (*nwnw*). Then, out of the watery abyss, according to some ancient thinkers, grew a lotus, and in it sat the first of the ennead of gods, Atum (later Rē^{c}). According to the Pyramid Texts, Nun was the oldest and wisest god, who existed when there was no heaven and no earth (cf. 1040) ; and by the time of the New Kingdom, Nun, which was formerly believed to have surrounded the whole world, tended to be narrowed down and considered the Dwat (*dwȝ.t*), the underworld, a place *under* the earth.[7]

[2] Aton, a late form of sun-worship (see above, chapter IX) was in a sense a cosmic deity, although in reality a personification and deification of only the disk of the sun.

[3] Such as Sethe Urgeschichte, 118.

[4] Budge Fetish, chapter VIII.

[5] E.g. Khnum of Elephantiné was identified, from time to time, with Rē^{c}, Shu, Geb (Sethe Urgeschichte, 26).

[6] E.g. Atum (Rē^{c}) in Heliopolis ; Shu and Tefnut, as lion and lioness, in Leontopolis ; the ennead at *Ḥri-^{c}ḥȝ* (Babylon) (Sethe Urgeschichte, 126).

[7] Cf. Sethe, " Altaegyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne ", *Sonderabdruck aus d. Stzb. d. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1928, XXII, Berlin, 1928.

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The name Nun, also appearing as Nu or Niu (cf. PT 132, 446, 207), was reproduced in Coptic times by the form NOYN. It was sometime applied to the Nile, when the Nile-god was identified with the great primeval god Nun. The ocean, or " the great green " was also identified with Nun, as were also the sky or the watery aspect of the sky, and Rē^{c}, the sun-god, who arose out of him. In later times Nun was identified with Ptah-ṭenen, and sometimes also with Khepri, a form of the sun-god. In a sense, the female counterpart of Nun was Nut, the primeval mother (the feminine form of Nu or Nun), who was later identified as mother-goddess with Hathor and Mūt. In some texts Amūn and Amūnet take the place of Nun and Nut.

Nun was usually represented as a bearded man. Sometimes he appeared with the head of a frog, surmounted by a beetle, and even with the head of a snake, and once with that of an ox. Identified with Ptah-ṭenen, he appeared as a man with two spreading feathers on his head. One picture represents him as a man emitting

Fig. 91
NUN

the two sources of water from his mouth while two gods, each receiving a part of these streams, spit them out again.

As the personification of the primeval water-mass surrounding the world, Nun was often called " the celestial ocean ", " the father of the gods ", " the water traversed by the solar barque ", " the great god who created himself ", " the great god whose dwelling is in the waters of the sky ", and Rē^{c} addressed him, saying, " O thou first-born god from whom I came into being." He was, in short,

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eternal, with the qualities of a male and a female, self-existent, who uttered his own name, and so came into existence. Out of himself proceeded other gods, the world, and all things. He was the river of the sky, flowing across the heavens and through the Dwat (where he was identified with Osiris), the world of night and thick darkness, and on the river floated the barque of Rēᶜ. In the New Kingdom speculation made him an ogdoad of deities, four males and four females, whose city was Hermopolis, " the city of the eight " (*ḫmn*), the city of Thot.

ATUM (Tem, Tum) was ordinarily reckoned the first god (cf. PT 1587), according to the theology of Heliopolis, who arose out of the primeval watery abyss, and who created himself by uttering his own name. Having had union with his own shadow, he produced two children, Shu (male) and Tefnut (female), and, through them, was grandfather of Geb and Nut, and great-grandfather of Osiris and Isis, Set and Nephthys. Later, he was taken to be merely a form of the sun-god, as an old man, at eventide. He was called " bull of the ennead ", and later he was " lord of the Two Lands in Heliopolis ", and together with Shu and Tefnut, was a judge of Osiris. He was usually represented as a bearded man

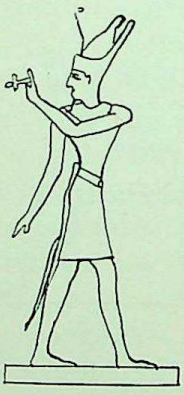

Fig. 92
ATUM

wearing the double crown, and was sometimes symbolized by the Mnevis bull. He also appeared as a man with the head of an ichneumon (cf. Roeder, in ER, 4 (1936), 6 ff.). Though he is said to have made the ennead (Sethe Memph. Theol., Cb, 6), he was later considered merely as one aspect of the sun-god, and was

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especially identified with Khepri (PT 1652). His cult-centre was Heliopolis.

As we have already seen in chapters II and VII, Rē^{c}, as Atum arose out of Nun, and the exact place, according to the theology of Hermopolis, was " the city of the eight ", Hermopolis. Rē^{c} succeeded Atum at Heliopolis, and became the great sun-god, *par excellence*, appearing as Harachte in the morning, Rē^{c} at noon, and Atum in the evening. At all epochs, reminiscences of the conception that the sun passed through the body of the sky-goddess at night and above the visible vault of heaven, have been preserved, and beginning with the New Kingdom, he was represented as journeying through the lower world as a man with the head of a ram. With the passage of time, the cosmic deities of the Rē^{c}-cycle consisted of Rē^{c} himself; Horus, the second of the great solar gods; Harachte and Atum; Khepri, another form of the rising sun; Shu and Tefnut; Nut and Geb; Hathor, Sekhmet, and Bastet; Onuris, Sopdu, and Aton; and after about 2000 B.C. most local gods were identified with Rē^{c}. In Greek times he was Helios.

Although cosmic deities were personified and deified in ancient Egypt long before the dawn of history, on account of their vastness and indefinable character and attributes, they were not ordinarily worshipped in any organized way. Thus, there were never any temples to Nun, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, or Nut. Atum had his definite place of worship because he was identified with Rē^{c}, the sun, who could be, and was located and worshipped. Indeed, the sun was the first of all cosmic powers to receive organized worship. The earliest effort to localize the sun as a deity and to visualize it as a god conveniently capable of being worshipped was made possible by identifying it with an old sky-god, in the form of a falcon, which was represented as flying across the sky every day. His worship then took root in Heliopolis, and by the Fifth Dynasty it had become supremely powerful.

The goddess NUT was a personification and deification of the sky. She was the celestial counterpart of Nun. In Egyptian the word for heaven, unlike, for example, Babylonian, was feminine, *p.t*, hence, no doubt, the gender of the sky-deity. But the word for earth, *t3*, was masculine, so the earth-deity was the god Geb. Nut was usually taken to be the daughter of Shu and Tefnut, wife of Geb, and mother of Osiris and Isis, Set and Nephthys. Her husband according to the same system of thought was Geb, " the

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bull of Nut ". According to one myth, Nut, as a great cow, gave birth to the sun-god daily. Her two eyes, according to another, were the sun and moon.

Nut bore the proud title, " lady of heaven ", who gave birth to the gods, mistress of the " Two Lands ". Some legends seem to make a distinction between the night sky and the day sky as the realm of Nut,[8] but the distinction was not always maintained. She was called the " brilliant one ", the " great one ", " She of Shetpet " (PT 580). Although a sky-goddess, she was often associated with the underworld and the dead therein, being their friend and protectress (PT 827-8 ; BD (Budge), 59).[9] She was later sometimes represented as a woman with wings outspread or folded around her body, wearing upon her head the *nw*, the hieroglyph of her name ; sometimes as a woman, with elongated body, stooping so that her hands touched the ground (see Fig. 3). She also appeared in the form of a great cow, whose legs correspond to the four pillars at the cardinal points. Sometimes stars were represented on her belly, where also Khepri appeared, and Rēᶜ was seated upon her back. She sometimes appeared in the form of Hathor, sitting in a sycamore tree, and pouring out water from a vase ; or as a woman on the sign for gold (*nwb*) ; once as the " buckle of Isis ", from the top of which projected her head, and with human hands and feet ; and funerary pictures show her receiving the souls of the dead into her star-spangled bosom, arms, and wings.[10]

Nut was identified with Hathor at Dendera, with Neit at Sais, with Bast at Bubastis, and with a lioness-goddess at Memphis. She was also sometimes identified with Sekhmet, Isis, Nephthys, Ḥeḳet, etc., and she was one of the ogdoad of Hermopolis. She and Nun were sometimes represented by Amūn and Amūnet. No temple of Nut is known, but we know of some shrines,[11] although no knowledge of a cult has survived. As a cosmic deity, she probably had no organized worship and cult.

GEB, a personification of the earth, was, according to some elements in the theology of Heliopolis, the greatest and oldest of the gods (e.g. PT 255, 895, 1645, 1834, 2103, 1620-21) ; according

[8] E.g. BD (Budge), p. 75.

[9] See also Rusch, *Die Entwicklung der Himmelsgöttin Nut zu einer Totengottheit*, Leipzig, 1922 ; Drioton, Bulletin, 41 (1942), 102-3.

[10] She was also represented as a sow with her young, ÄZ, 71 (1935), 45-7.

[11] Cf. Budge Gods, II, 103.

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to other elements he inherited the earth from his grandfather Atum (PT 301(2141), 483, 1617). The name *gb* (oldest form, *gbb*) is no doubt an old term for earth, which later was replaced by *t3*.[12] Geb was the son and heir of Shu and Tefnut, and mounted his father's throne. His wife was Nut; and they were parents of Osiris and Isis, Set and Nephthys. Geb was also considered by some as father of the sun and the moon. He, like other deities, such as, Atum, Ptah, Nun, bore the proud title "father of the gods" (PT 195, 179); and was also known as "leader (*rpᶜ.t*) or chief of the gods" (PT 895, 993, 1620, 1645, 1465). The kings of Egypt were his successors, for they sat upon the thrones of Geb (*nś.wt Gbb*).[13] The symbol of Geb was a goose, which in Egyptian is *gb*, which led some Egyptian theologians to call him "the great Cackler", who laid the solar egg.[14]

Geb was usually represented either as a bearded man with a goose on his head, or as a goose. He was often represented also as a man resting on his back or his side (see Fig. 3), and with plants springing from his body. He also appeared as a man with a serpent's head; or, in later times, in full human form, with the crown of Lower Egypt combined with the *3tf.w*-diadem of Osiris. Geb was located at Heliopolis. There, it used to be thought, he and Nut produced the egg out of which sprang Rēᶜ in the form of a *bnw* (heron). Like most of the other cosmic deities, he had no temple, but there was an *'i3.t* ("district") of Geb at Apollinopolis magna, and one of the names of Dendera was "the home of the children of Geb". The deceased, in general, said, "Geb is my father and Nut is my mother"; but the wicked were thought to have been imprisoned in the earth by Geb.

Early traditions knew of another earth-god, namely, AKER[15] (PT 796, 1014, 1713), who was depicted as a double lion, with two opposite heads on one body, into one of them the sun enters at evening, and comes forth from the other in the morning. Aker's

[12] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 70; ÄZ, 43 (1907), 147; 46 (1910), 141. The name appears in Cuneiform as ^{d}*Ki-ib* (KAV, 54, 4, 7 Rev. 5); and ^{d}*Kib*^{d}=*Kur* (Sumerian), *Kur* meaning "land" and equivalent to *irṣitu* "earth" (cf. Luckenbill, AJSL, 40 (1924), 289 ff.). This does not necessarily imply that Geb was originally a Mesopotamian god; and yet it has been suggested that he might have been of Libyan origin, for he, among all Egyptian gods, is the only one who is found represented wearing the phallus pocket (cf. Pap Greenfield, pl. 106).

[13] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 74.

[14] Pap Harris mag, VII, 7.

[15] See above in chapter X.

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body is, thus, the earth ; and in some quarters was thought to represent the underworld. He was accordingly sometimes confused with Apophis. Sometimes Aker appeared as two separate lions sitting back to back, which were called " yesterday " and " to-day ". Then again the two lions were sometimes called Shu and Tefnut, who kept the sky in place.

The god of the air was SHU (*šw*). The root means " to be empty " ; it also means " to lift up ". Shu was a personification and deification of the emptiness, which, with dampness, makes the atmosphere, which in turn lifts, or holds, up the sky. He was the son of Rē^{c} or Atum, and husband of Tefnut. His mother was sometimes thought to have been Hathor.

Shu was called the " flesh and bone of Rē^{c} ", " lord of eternity ", " lord of truth ", " greater than (all) the gods ", before whom every god bowed.[16] He was also called " Shu, the hero (*tm3-^{c}*) ". According to a late inscription, found at el-Arish,[17] Shu succeeded Rē^{c}, and drew up a list of nomes and cities which had been founded or conquered by his ancestors and himself. From the Book of the Dead (chapter 17) one learns that Shu and Tefnut possessed one soul between them, but the two halves of it were identified with the souls of Osiris and Rē^{c}, together the great double soul of Busiris. According to the Onurislegende,[18] Shu and Tefnut were sent to bring back the Eye of Rē^{c}, after which Shu was called Onuris, he who brought back " the distant one ".

The god Shu was represented (see Fig. 3) either as a bearded man wearing a single feather or four tall plumes on his head, or as a lion. He and Tefnut appeared in Leontopolis in the form of a pair of lions (*rw.ti*). He was identified with both Sopdu and Ḥeka, and was said to have inherited his war-like nature and his character as a world-god from Horus. It was thought that Shu was at home in Heliopolis, Leontopolis, as well as in Ombos, Dendera, Edfu, Ḳuṣ, and Sebennytos, where the local gods became Shu. In this way it may be said that he had an organized cult ; but not as Shu primarily. As Shu he had neither temple nor cult.[19]

TEFNUT (see above, chapter XI) was a personification and deification of dampness, who, with her counterpart Shu, made the atmosphere, which separated Nut from Geb. She was thus a cosmic

[16] Hymn to Shu, Budge Fetish, 418-19.
[17] Roeder Urkunden, 150.
[18] Cf. above chapter X ; Junker Onurislegende, 59-67.
[19] Cf. Junker Hathor-Tefnut, 56 f.

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deity. Having a place in the ennead of Heliopolis, she was one of Egypt's greatest and oldest deities. Already in the Pyramid Texts she appears with all her accustomed characteristics. In two ancient legends, described above in chapter XI, Tefnut played an important part.[20] According to the second of these legends, Tefnut came from Nubia, and in Egypt was identified with Hathor, and with the Eye of Rēᶜ. She remained a wild lioness, even after she was brought to Egypt by Shu and Thot. In spite of this legend, and in keeping with the first legend, in which Rēᶜ sent forth Shu and Tefnut to bring Hathor home to him, Tefnut was no doubt a native Egyptian creation of the mind, who later was associated with Hathor, the Eye of Rēᶜ, and Nubia.[21] Indeed, the second legend was not put into its present form until the Graeco-Roman period.

Tefnut was the daughter of Rēᶜ (Atum), without mother (PT 1248 ; cf. 1652), by onanism ; and according to the *Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie*, both she and Shu came from the mouth of Atum ; but according to Pap Ebers (95, 8), Isis bore Shu and Tefnut; otherwise she was considered the daughter of Rēᶜ and Hathor. Her brother and husband was Shu, and when Onuris was identified with Shu, he was her husband. In Nubia she became the wife of the Nubian god, Arensnuphis (*'iri-ḥmś-nfr*), who became a local god of the district of Philae, and was identified with Shu. She was also considered a wife of Thot, who, with Shu, brought her back from Nubia. If she is the same as the goddess Tefent of PT 317, she also had a husband called Tefen. Her children were Geb and Nut. Tefnut was a goddess of the dead (PT 990, 1691, 1985, 2053) ; a fiery serpent, protector of the king ; protectress of Rēᶜ and of Osiris ; a cosmic and world-deity, but in late times she was patron-goddess of Nubia. She was " lady of heaven ", " lady of all gods ", " lady of Bigeh ", " Eye of Rēᶜ ", " the *nsr.t* who burns up the enemy ". Her symbol was the lioness, so she was represented, as a rule, in the form of a lioness, or of a woman with the head of a lioness, wearing the solar disk and uraeus ; sometimes with the solar disk and ram's horns. Tefnut was principally identified with Hathor ; and as " the left eye of Horus ", symbolizing wind and rain, and dampness, she was identified with Bastet, sister of Horus, or sister-wife of Shu-Horus, as well as with the storm serpent-goddesses *wśr.t* and

[20] Budge Legends, pp. xxiii-xxxii, and 14-41 ; Junker Hathor-Tefnut ; Junker Onurislegende ; Spiegelberg Mythus ; cf. Roeder, " Tefênet ", Roscher Lex, V.

[21] Cf. Sethe Sonnenauge, *passim*.

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wpš.t. She was also identified with Meḥit wife of Onuris (—Shu); Sekhmet, lioness, wife of Ptah; Menut of Hermopolis; Tsent-nefret of Ombos; Meskhent of Dendera; and Ḥeḳet, wife of Khnum.

Tefnut, like other great cosmic deities had neither temples nor rites, yet she was revered and adored in many places, in Heliopolis, Leontopolis, Dendera, Philae, Ombos, Edfu, Esneh, and in almost every northern Nubian centre. In later times she had her festivals, shrines, and priests, and her admirers who preferred to serve her rather than Osiris.[22]

While the moon played a minor rôle in the attention and thought of ancient Egypt, it was none the less personified and deified, no doubt, in prehistoric times. Like most other cosmic deities, the word for the particular phenomenon was used as the name of the personified and deified phenomenon. Thus, the moon was IĀḤ (*ʾiᶜḥ*), and was usually named with Rēᶜ and Nut.[23] The emblem of this deity was a crescent, and he was often called the

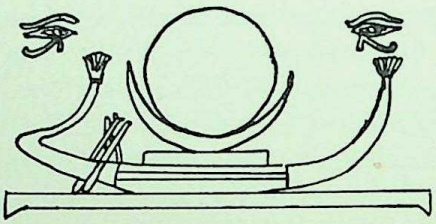

Fig. 93
LUNAR BOAT

left eye of Horus. As a god of the dead, his silver boat gave passage to the deceased across the nightly sky.

For some reason or other the moon, under its name Iāḥ, was never prominent in ancient Egypt. The earliest god who played the part of Iāḥ was Thot, and the next was Khonsu, both of whom were actually identified with him in the most formal way.[24] Iāḥ was also identified with Shu, and even with Osiris.[25] Indeed, from a very early period, Iāḥ was identified with deities of many local shrines. The dead also were sometimes identified with him, in

[22] Pap Dodgson (Griffith, PSBA, 31 (1909), 100-9, 289-91).
[23] Pap Golénischeff, I, 4-7.
[24] Cf. Pap Turin, P and R, 25, 7-10; Karnak, Bab el-Amara (unpublished).
[25] Cf. Denderah, II, 44; Düm Hist Inschr, II, lvii.

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his form of Thot (PT 1233), and in Greek times he was Selene. As Thot, he and Rēᶜ were "those two comrades who sail through heaven" (PT 128).[26] Without a temple and cult as his own, he was, however, adored and venerated in many places—offerings were made to him; there was a feast called "the entrance of Osiris in the moon"; and Osiris-Iāḥ was honoured by the sacrifice of a pig.

These were the seven great cosmic deities. The Nile-god, Ḥapi (see above chapter X) is often classed as a cosmic deity; as were also the Four Winds,[27] the North Wind as a ram or bull; the East as a falcon; the South as a lion; and the West as a serpent. Sometimes all four were represented as rams. The four elements are sometimes classed as cosmic deities, the earth as Geb, the atmosphere as Shu, fire as Rēᶜ, and water as Osiris.[28]

It would be most natural to expect, in view of what we have already learned about ancient Egyptian religious ideas, that the stars also were the source of wonder, veneration, and worship. They were all associated more or less closely with the idea of divinity, and some of them, at least, were distinguished, personified, deified, named, and regarded as divine beings. Indeed, many of them were treated as manifestations of the god Horus. The early Egyptians never seemed to have clearly distinguished one star from another, nor did they ever possess and develop the same knowledge of astronomy as the Babylonians, nevertheless, as early as the Pyramid Texts we find remnants of interesting astral theology. Thus, Saḥ, that is Orion, "the fleet-footed"; Sothis, or Sirius, the dog-star; and Meśḫetiw, or the Great Bear, identified with Set, all appear in these ancient texts. Furthermore, the Egyptians seem to have divided all stars into two great groups, the northern stars and the southern stars. The northern stars were the *'iḫmw śkw*, "the stars that never set", that is, the circumpolar stars; the southern stars were the *'iḫmw wr̤dw*, "the stars that never rest". The circumpolar stars were better known to the Egyptians than the *'ihmw wr̤dw*, although they naturally were very hazy about the number of them. At any rate, they believed that twelve *wr̤dw* towed the solar barque through the Dwat at night. These stars were thought to have been devoted to the deceased and divine

[26] As the placenta was the twin of the *ka*, so Iāḥ was twin of Rēᶜ (Van der Leeuw, in JEA, 5 (1918), 64).

[27] Budge Fetish, 239 f.; Müller Mythology, 65; RT, 34 (1912), 9 ff.

[28] Cf. Budge Fetish, 240.

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pharaoh (PT 1155), were in the following of Osiris (PT 749), and, in a vague sense, the abodes of the blessed dead.

The most important and most brilliant of all the fixed stars was Sothis (*śpd.t*), that is, the dog-star, Sirius.[29] Sothis was called as early as the Pyramid Texts "the year (star)" (965), for by its heliacal rising, marking the inundation of the Nile; equivalent to the 19th and 20th of July of the Julian Calendar, Egyptian astronomers set the beginning of the year, and regulated the agricultural operations of the land. The one thousand four hundred and sixty years intervening between one heliacal rising of Sothis and the following one on the same date is called the "Sothic cycle". In early times, Sothis was represented as a woman, friend of the dead, and in reality a form of Isis. She soon, however, was identified with the goddess Satis of the First Cataract (see above Chapter XI), wearing the Satis crown. This identification was, no doubt, due to the connection between Satis and the inundation of the Nile, on the one hand, and the heliacal rising of Sothis (Sirius) on the other. In later times, Sothis was represented as a woman, or as a cow (due to her identification with Hathor), reclining in a ship,

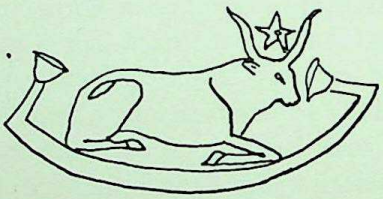

Fig. 94.
SOTHIS

symbolizing her rule over the heavens. When she appeared as a goddess primarily, and not as a star, she was represented as Isis. She also appeared as a woman with a star on her head, and standing on a dog. In human form, she was closely associated with the constellation of Orion. She was particularly associated with Horus, so much so that she seems sometimes to have been confounded with Sopdu, the war-like Horus-god, smiter of the Asiatics, Sothis had neither temple nor organized cult in ancient Egypt, but she was none the less considered divine and the object of adoration.

[29] Cf. Roeder, in Roscher Lex, "Sothis"; Autran, "Sothis-Sirius et le Monde préhellénique", Mélanges Maspero, I, 2, 529 ff.

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In many respects the most beautiful and most remarkable of all the constellations was Saḥ (*sꜣḥ*), Orion, " the fleet-footed, long-striding, pre-eminent in the land of the South " (PT 959). He bore the great title " father of the gods " (PT 408), and had as his consort Saḫet (BD(Ani), 23, 4). He was represented in the complete form of a man, in the act of running and looking backwards, with a sceptre in his right hand, and in his left hand, extended, a star. Later, he grasps a spear, connecting him with the war-like Horus. He was identified with Horus and Osiris, but was distinguished by the " great star " on his shoulder (PT 882). He often appeared as a companion of Sothis, and was associated with Sopdu. In the New Kingdom, he appeared as two Orions, and was closely identified with the celestial ferryman, " who looks backward ", or " whose face is behind him " (*ḥr.f-ḥꜣ.f*).

The next greatest of the constellation deities was the " Great Bear ", Meśḫetiw, " the adze ", an ill-omened star, and so identified with Set. It was called " the Ox-Leg " (*ḫpš*), and is equivalent to our " Great Dipper ", " Charles's Wain ", or " Ursa Major " (in part), for it is a seven-starred constellation. In Egypt it was classed as one of the circumpolar constellations. Meśḫetiw is represented once on a sarcophagus at Asyûṭ with Nut standing before him with raised hands.[30] The guardian of the "Ox-Leg" was the goddess Thueris (see above Chapter XI), who before the New Kingdom was considered a star-deity. In addition to her attribute as patroness of child-birth, she afforded protection against sickness. She bore the title, " she who bore the sun ", and accordingly was identified with Nut, and likewise with Hathor, and Isis. She was also called Ipet, Sheput, Reret, and Ḥesamut. The goddess Serḳet or Selket (see above, chapter XI) appeared as a guardian of the " Great Bear " ; as did also the Four Sons of Horus; as well as the god Ān (*ꜥn*) or Dwa-Annu (*dwꜣ-ꜥnnw*) (PT 1098), a form of Horus as war-god. Curiously enough Ān sometimes appeared as Horus fighting the " Ox-Leg ".[31] The god Bes (see above chapter X), a companion of Thueris was also placed among the star-gods, corresponding to Serpentarius of Classical times.

Among the Decans was the important constellation Shesmu (PT 403). In Egyptian his name is determined by a wine-press, and he was the bringer of water and wine (PT 1552). In later times, he appeared as he who hacked in pieces the bodies of the wicked, as a

[30] Eisler, in JEA, 27 (1941), 149 ; 18 (1932), 163.
[31] See Mercer Horus, 180 and fig. 98.

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kind of executioner for Osiris. He was depicted either in human form, or as a man with the head of an ox or that of a lion. His consort was the goddess Shesemtet or Sebshesen, " mistress of the sky ". The Decans, called by the Egyptians, *bȝk.tiw*, were thirty-six in number, each a deity or spirit, and each deity or spirit was provided with a boat.

There were other star-deities, of many of whom practically nothing is at present known. There were Ḥepep, in the form of a man wearing the *atef*-crown ; Ḥeḳes, protector of mariners ; Sunt (*śwn.t*), the traveller, striding or sailing across the sky ; Seshat (see above, chapter XI), star-goddess of writing ; the star-god (?) Neḥeḥ (PT 332) ; a star-god gripping a bull's tail ; a star-god spearing a crocodile ; a Horus star-god ; the star-deities Shetu, Nesru, Shepet, Apseḏ, Sebshes, Wash-neṯer. Then there were the planets : the star of the south, " the light-scatterer of the sky " (PT 1455),[32] as Jupiter ; " the star of the east of heaven ", " the red Horus ", was Rēᶜ, as Mars ; " the star of the west traversing heaven ", " Horus, bull of heaven ", was Horus, as Saturn ; Sebeg, in charge of the staircase, as Mercury ; and the evening star, Sebwāti, was Set, as Venus. There was also a " god of the dawn ", or morning star[33] called " Horus of the Dwat ", and " soul of Osiris "; pharaohs appeared in heaven as stars (PT Ut. 328) ; and there were special star-deities, who represented the hours. All these star-deities were the object of wonder, honour, and adoration.

The Pleiades were not known in early Egypt, but in Ptolemaic times they were identified with the seven Hathors. In like manner, a full knowledge of the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac were not known in Egypt until the Greeks brought it.[34] To each sign were attached three stars. The names of the Twelve Signs, as they appeared in Roman times are : the ram, the bull, the twins, the scarab (or beetle), the lion, the virgin, the horizon, the scorpion, the bow-man, the capricorn, the waterman, and the fishes.[35]

Some deities may be classed as both cosmic and nature-gods. Thus, Ḥapi (see above chapter X), the Nile-god, as far as the early

[32] The god with whom this star was identified is not at present known.

[33] The morning star was represented with four faces, corresponding to the four Horuses of the East, with whom he was identified (PT 1207).

[34] See H. E. Winlock, " The Tomb of Senmut ", BMMA, 1928, pp. 37-58 (Eighteenth Dynasty) ; H. Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I*, London, 1933, Vol. I, 72-5 ; Vol. II, pl. 81 (Nineteenth Dynasty) ; Napoleon, A, Vol. IV, pls. 20 and 21 (Ptolemaic Period).

[35] Spiegelberg, in ÄZ, 48 (1911), 147 ; cf. Budge Fetish, 245-8.

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Egyptians were concerned, is a cosmic-god, for to them the Nile was co-extensive with the world. But strictly speaking, he was a nature-god. Osiris (see above chapter VI), as god of the underworld and as a sky and sun-god, was certainly a cosmic-god ; but as a fertility-god, a tree-god, a god of vegetation, a water and inundation-god, he was none the less certainly a nature-god. In like manner, Isis (see above, chapter XI), as heaven-goddess, was a cosmic-deity ; but as a goddess of fertility and of the first-fruits, she was a nature-goddess. The same may be said, only to a lesser degree, of her sister Nephthys. Then, there were the harvest-goddess Renenūtet (see above, chapter XI) ; the grain-deities, Nepri and Nepret, represented as fat men ; the field-goddess ; Tenement, goddess of intoxicating drink ; and a goddess of cakes. These personifications and deifications of natural things and cosmic phenomena grew out of animism, or the way in which all ancient Egyptians, early and late, represented to themselves the world in which they lived.

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CHAPTER XVI

THEOLOGICAL SYSTEMS

ALTHOUGH Diodorus, Plutarch, and Strabo, declared that Hellinistic philosophers, such as Solon, Thales, Pythagoras, Democritus of Abdera, and Plato, sat at the feet of Egyptian priestly teachers, nevertheless there is extant in no ancient Egyptian texts any profound Egyptian philosophy. Whether or not the Egyptians ever possessed any real love of truth, or any earnest desire to probe into the inner nature of things, cannot at present be determined. There was no lack of the kind of speculation about man and the world, which produces myths and legends and more or less systematized theologies, but the only extant text from ancient Egypt, which contains thoughts in any way comparable with what we think of in modern days as philosophic thought, is the famous *Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie*, where it is said that all things were created by the heart and tongue, that is, the thought and the spoken word, of the deity. Again, the ancient Egyptians were anything but accurate and scientific in arranging and expressing their religious ideas, nevertheless, from time to time, and at various centres, their theologians, in speculating about the gods, formulated and constructed groups of deities and theological systems, which we are now able to reconstruct from ancient and fragmentary texts, with the aid of certain classical writings. Thus, in the great religious cities of Heliopolis, Memphis, Hermopolis magna, Abydos, Thebes, various systems of theological speculation were developed, while at the same time throughout ancient Egypt two great systems of theological thought were operating side by side, and, so far as popularity was concerned, overshadowed all others. These were the doctrines of Osiris and Rē^{c}, which will be studied and compared in our next chapter. The priestly theologians of Heliopolis, perhaps before the rise of the dynasties, by using some prehistoric names, such as those of Osiris, Isis, Rē^{c}, and by inventing others, such as, those of Shu and Tefnut, Geb and Nut, had already constructed at least two great companies of deities (PT 127, 1087, 1093, 1489, 1683-1700), the Great Ennead (PT 2, 177, 1628, 1683 ff.) and the Little

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Ennead (PT 178), a system of theology, which by the time of the Pyramid Texts had gained the support of the king and his high officials. Indeed, there is evidence to show that it was well-developed as early as the beginning of the Thinite period,[1] made up of earlier and comparatively later strands.[2] The early theologians of Memphis constructed a similar system of theology, under the influence of the worship of Osiris, but with Ptah at its head ;[3] and the ogdoad of Hermopolis, with Thot at its head, goes back for its origin to the very beginning of historic time.[4] Then there were the systems of Abydos, Osirian in form ; of Thebes, an amalgamation of Heliopolis and Hermopolis ; and of Ikhnaton and his god Aton. There were groups of sevens, fives, and fours ; there were triads ; and there were pairs of gods, and families of gods.

The greatest of all ancient systems of theology was that of Heliopolis which had its origin in prehistoric times ; which in time was accepted by practically every priesthood and in every temple in Egypt ; and which influenced all other systems which came after it.[5] The chief source of our knowledge of the theology of Heliopolis is the famous Pyramid Texts, thoroughly Heliopolitan in origin, but redacted in the interest of the religion of Osiris.[6] They contain myths and legends which go back far beyond the time of Menes,[7] and which contain a theology solar in background, but fused with local cults and deeply coloured by the teaching of Osiris. Not only the myths and legends, but also the funerary ritual, magical charms, hymns, prayers, and petitions have been re-worded and interpolated in the interest of the theology of Osiris. But in spite of all that, a fairly clear outline of the Heliopolitan system of theology can

[1] A. Moret, "Texte rituel du début de l'Ancien Empire reproduit au Temple d'Amenophis III à Luxor", CR, 1937, 239-51.

[2] Sethe Urgeschichte, 113. For these theological systems, see the Pyramid Texts ; Breasted Development, especially Lect. I ; Erman Religion, Kap. 2, 4, 6 ; Budge Fetish, 137 ff., 259 ff. ; Roeder, in ARW, 15 (1912), 59-98.

[3] See Sethe Memph. Theol., *passim*.

[4] See Sethe Amūn, *passim* ; cf. Rochem, I, 289.

[5] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 112, 115 ; and Moret Nile, 378.

[6] The Osirianization of these texts may clearly be seen in such passages as Ut. 510, and from Ut. 26 to Ut. 203, they have been so thoroughly redacted that only 44 and 50 retain a solar character. Indeed, Ut. 637 is so Osirian in character that it was used over a thousand years later as part of the ritual of Osiris at Abydos. Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 182, 185.

[7] E.g. PT Ut. 213-22 represent a period in prehistoric time when Horus conquered Upper Egypt, and formed the Second Union of the Two Lands—long before the time of Menes.

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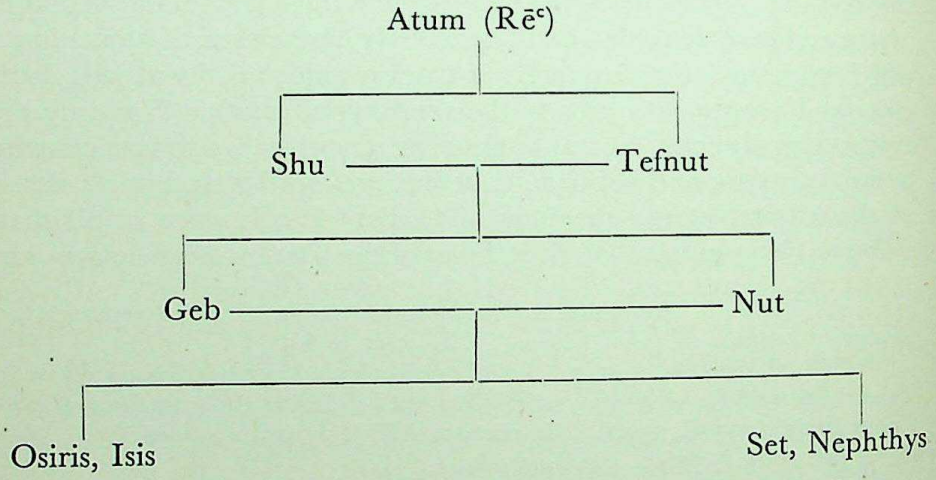
be reconstructed, after due allowance has been made for characteristically Egyptian inconsistencies and contradictions, for a tendency to simplify matters by removing all local spirits to heaven, for lunarization as well as Osirianization, and for the amalgamation and identification of deities with similar attributes.

The theologians of Heliopolis grouped the chief deities into two, and perhaps three[8] companies, each of which they called a *psḏ.t*, or ennead, that is, a group of nine[9] deities. They called the chief group the *psḏ.t* ᶜ3.*t*, or Great Ennead. The second ennead or company, in contrast with the first, we call the " Little Ennead ". Much time and labour have been spent in attempting to discover the primitive nucleus of the Great Ennead of Heliopolis. It is generally believed now that Atum was usually considered the chief of the Great Ennead, although some legends assign Nun to that position (Sethe Urgeschichte, 113), and at the latest, by the time of Nebre of the Second Dynasty, Rēᶜ took the place of Atum, or was identified with him as Atum-Rēᶜ. It is pretty certain that before the time of the Pyramid Texts the following scheme of the Great Ennead had been adopted and was being imitated all over Egypt :[10]



The membership of the Little Ennead is not fully known,

[8] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 120, and n. 1.

[9] In later times this did not necessarily mean literally " nine " gods (cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 120), for the ennead of Thebes numbered fifteen deities, and that of the Abydos seven. Indeed, in PT 258 the ennead is spoken of as a body of which the separate gods are members ; and in 511 as the seven times nine gods.

[10] An unsuccessful attempt has been made on the basis of PT 317 to show that the primitive form of the Heliopolitan grouping of the gods was ogdoadic (Capart, in RT, 33 (1911), 64 f.) ; cf. also Foucart Tombes, I, 180 ff.

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but it certainly included Horus, Thot, Maat, and Anubis ; while that of the third company is quite unknown.

In origin Atum was a mere theological speculation, but the sun, as the god Rē^{c}, was one of the oldest objects which was personified and deified by the ancient Egyptians. According to the priests of Heliopolis, Atum existed in the primitive watery abyss (Nun), whence he came forth. Then by onanism he created Shu and Tefnut, who gave rise to Geb and Nut ; and these two in turn gave rise to Osiris and Isis, Set and Nephthys. Those legends which made Rē^{c} head of the Great Ennead accounted for Rē^{c} in various ways : He arose as a naked babe from a lotus-flower, which floated on the watery abyss ; or he came out of an egg ; or he was self-created, like Atum, and appeared on the *benben*-stone in Heliopolis. He then spit out Shu and Tefnut (PT 1652).[11] As the calendar was invented by the priests of Heliopolis as early, at the latest, as 2781 B.C., Osiris, whose birthday was assigned by them to one of the five intercalary days (PT 1961, cf. Plutarch IO, 12), was well established at Heliopolis as one of the greatest of all gods, by that time. Consequently we find the Pyramid Texts, three hundred years later, thoroughly permeated with the person and teaching of Osiris and his cycle. The priests did their utmost to harmonize the teaching of Rē^{c} and Osiris, and although in strict parlance Rē^{c} was lord of the sky while Osiris was lord of the underworld, and Rē^{c} was king of the living while Osiris was king of the dead, yet Osiris was celestialized and represented as " lord of the sky " (PT 964, 968) ; but he in turn completely Osirianized the Pyramid Texts ; and, by the time of the compilation of the Book of the Dead, he was represented as sitting at the head of the Great Ennead of Heliopolis.[12] Although Horus was so popular with the theologians of Heliopolis, his birthday, like that of Osiris, having been assigned to one of the five intercalary days, he was not made by them a member of their Great Ennead. This was perhaps because he was already famous as the son of Osiris and Isis, and also perhaps because already the son of Osiris and Isis was a great sun-god, like Rē^{c}, the head of the ennead. However, he was included in the Little Ennead ; and besides, according to one interpretation there was an " ennead of Horus "

[11] According to other legends, the children of Atum-Rē^{c} were : Tefen and Tefent, or Ḥu and Sia, or Ḥeka and Sia, or Thot (heart ?) and Horus (tongue ?), cf. Boylan Thot, 51, n. 1.

[12] Breasted Development, 304 ; cf. in general Rusch, *Die Stellung des Osiris im theol. System von Heliopolis*, AO, 24 (1924), 1, 31 f.

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(PT 304c).[13] Indeed, the priests of Heliopolis received him as a sun-god and called him Harachte (" Horus of the horizon "), and being unable to find a place for him in their Great Ennead, called him " the tenth god ".[14]

Both the Great and the Little Ennead were identified with Osiris (PT Ut. 219), but being extremely fanciful, the idea never became important. Nor did their cult as a practical thing ever become established, although it had a centre at *Ḫri-ʿḥ3* (Babylon), in later times, instead of Heliopolis, its official home.[15]

When Memphis was built by Menes as an imperial city for United Egypt, the priests of the god Ptah of that city, under the influence of the religious teaching of Osiris, took the theological system of Heliopolis and revised it to suit themselves, substituting Ptah for Atum (Rēʿ) as the head of the ennead. This new system of theology was constructed during the early part of the Dynastic period, and perhaps not very long after the founding of the new city, Memphis. Its leading features are to be found in a remarkable document, which is sometimes called " A Memphite Drama ", but which is better known under a German title, *Ein Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie*. It is extant on a black granite stone in the British Museum, on which was copied by order of the founder of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, Shabaka of Nubia (Ethiopia), " a work of the ancestors ", preserved on a worm-eaten papyrus. Part of the inscription is a drama, the rest consists of a theological discourse containing the essentials of the teaching of the priests of Memphis. The text has been published several times, but most perfectly and completely by Erman in 1911, under the title, *Ein Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie* ; and by Sethe in 1928, entitled, *Das " Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie " der Schabakostein des Britischen Museums*. On the basis of epigraphical and orthographical evidence the text has been assigned by Sethe to about the time when Memphis was founded and became the capital. However, if the theological system of Heliopolis was organized about the time of the invention of the calendar, that is, about 2781 B.C., that of Memphis must be dated somewhat later, for it clearly assumes the existence of the Heliopolitan system, and it magnifies Ptah and Memphis in comparison with Atum (Rēʿ) and Heliopolis.[16]

[13] Cf. Morgan Catal., I, 165, 210b.
[14] Sethe Urgeschichte, 121, n. 1.
[15] See Sethe Urgeschichte, 126.
[16] Cf. Breasted Conscience, chapter III ; JEA, 16 (1930), 263.

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The theologians of Memphis adopted the Great Ennead of Heliopolis, but made their god, Ptah, head of it. Ptah took the place of Atum, and in a special way was identified with him, for Atum became the heart (understanding) and tongue (word) of " Ptah the Great ", and, in turn, Ptah was the heart and tongue of the ennead. That is, not only were Ptah and Atum considered identical, but also, according to Memphite theology, in contrast to that of Heliopolis, Ptah (that is, Atum) was the ennead in emenation and manifestation. Thus, the other eight deities of the Memphite ennead were merely Ptah himself in manifestation, which explains the fact that their individual names are not emphasized, as in the case of the eight deities of the ennead of Heliopolis. The ennead of Memphis were as (or, arose from) the teeth and lips of Ptah, the teeth being the seed, and the lips the hands of Atum.[17] The theology of Memphis was mystical, philosophical, and more abstract than that of Heliopolis. But it could be objective and concrete as well, for it took the two characteristics of the sun-god, Ḥu and Sia, which the Heliopolitan priests had personified and deified, as sons of Atum, and made them the tongue and heart of Ptah. And, in the way of extention, the priests of Ptah made him heart in every body and tongue in every mouth of all gods, all men, all animals, all worms, and all that lives. Indeed, the self-created Ptah, without father and without mother, was the origin of the ennead, and all things came into being by means of his thought. By the agency of his heart and tongue all things were created and are sustained, even the united land of Egypt was a manifestation of Ptah, for it was the *tꜣ-ṯnn*, the earth which arose out of the primeval watery abyss.[18]

In the theological system of Memphis, Horus was assigned a very important rôle. He and Thot were even thought to be the very heart and tongue of Ptah, just as Ptah was the heart and tongue of the ennead. They, thus, were like Atum, who also was the heart and tongue of Ptah. In this, the theologians of Memphis magnified Horus making him son of Osiris,[19] heir of Geb, and, in keeping with Osirian theology, dispossessed Set. Horus was even identified with Ptah himself, as *Tꜣ-ṯnn*.

The *Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie*[20] was written by an adherent

[17] Cf. Junker, *Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, pp. 17 ff.

[18] In the Middle Kingdom Ptah as the god *Tꜣ-ṯnn* was identified with Geb.

[19] Thus Horus as *Bḥd.ti* does not occur in the *Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie*.

[20] The references in the following discussion are to Erman Memph. Theol.; cf. Sethe Memph. Theol.

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of the Memphite god Ptah and its system of theology, a system strongly under the influence of Osiris and the members of his cycle, especially Horus and Thot. Consequently, the writer, beginning with a contemplation of the objective world about him, declared that Ptah of Memphis was in reality the originator of Egypt (3-4) and that he was acknowledged as such by Atum, the head of the Heliopolitan pantheon or ennead (*psḏ.t*). Indeed, Atum acknowledged Ptah as the creator of the world, who begat himself and who gave birth to the ennead (6).

Ptah was thus the supreme divine being in the world. As his representative in Egypt he recognized Horus of the Osiris cycle, a deity who was not included in the Great Ennead of Heliopolis. It was, however, Geb, the earth-god, presumably Ptah's agent on earth, who, first of all, partitioned Egypt between Horus and Seth in the presence of the ennead (7), making Seth King of Upper Egypt and Horus King of Lower Egypt (8). However, for some unknown reason Geb revised his decision, for it was evil (*ḏw*) to his heart, and gave the whole of Egypt, which was really Geb's inheritance, to Horus, the son of his (Geb's) son (Osiris) (10c). Horus thus became heir of Geb (13a), and was crowned in Memphis, as ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt, where the two lands were united (13c-14c). To perpetuate symbolically this union of the South and North, a bulrush and papyrus were placed at the two doors of the entrance of the House of Ptah in Memphis, the " Balance of the two lands " (15c-16c).

But Horus, thus honoured, was the son of Osiris, and so the author of the text demonstrates the relationship of Osiris to Memphis, by showing that it was really in or near Memphis, in *Pśś.t-tȝ.wj*, that Osiris was drowned, in the presence of Isis and Nephthys (16c-18c, 19), and it was in the royal castle in the north of Memphis(?) where he was buried (20b-21b, 22). The Osiris cycle was thus most intimately associated with Memphis the sacred city of the god Ptah.

It was apparently not the intention of the theologians of Memphis to set up a new ennead in opposition to Heliopolis, but to take that ennead and show that now its real head was Ptah and that he was recognized as such by Atum the head of the Heliopolitan ennead. Indeed, it was Ptah, as the primeval watery deep, in its male and female aspects (Ptah-Nun and Ptah-Naunet) who produced Atum himself (50a-51a), and it was Ptah himself who was the heart and tongue, the thought and word of the ennead (52a). But as

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heart and tongue of the ennead Ptah appeared under the forms of the two gods Horus and Thot (53-54). All the other members of the Heliopolitan ennead are recognized and mentioned[21]—Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Osiris, Isis, Seth, Nephthys, Atum and even his later substitute Rē^{c}. Indeed, all the gods of the ennead were absorbed in, or identified with, or were mere manifestations of the supreme god Ptah.

The writer then procceds to show that Atum had his origin in Ptah as a thought (52), and by means of his heart and tongue (Horus and Thot), he transmitted his power to all gods and determined their rank and position (53-54). Indeed, gods and all creation were brought into being by the heart and tongue of Ptah. He thought, spoke, and all beings and things, including even Atum and his ennead, came into being (54, 56-57).

Now, the theologians of Heliopolis represented the ennead as coming into being as a result of the onanism of Atum, but those of Memphis declared that the ennead were the teeth and lips, that is, the spoken word, of Ptah (55). Thus the ennead of Heliopolis, according to the Memphite theologian, was really the ennead of Memphis, with Atum as a creation of Ptah, and the two gods, excluded from the Heliopolitan ennead, Horus and Thot, as the means or instruments with which Ptah operated. No new ennead was created. But the ennead of Atum was declared to be the ennead of Ptah and his two instruments Horus and Thot.

Thus it was also that the senses—sight, hearing, breathing—were created by the ennead acting as a form of Ptah, in whom was all thought and every conclusion (56)—all rank, all functions of government (57), all justice (57), and every work and craft and every movement of every member of the body (57-58). All beings, all things, all thought were made by Ptah, and he was pleased with all which he had created and made (58-59). But lest one may think that Ptah's activity was confined to the ennead and the Memphite gods, the writer adds that all local gods, their abodes and their cults were the creation of the Memphite Ptah (59-61), and thus Ptah was supreme in all the world, and his seat was in Memphis (61).

Memphis as home of Ptah was supreme and she was especially the granary of Egypt not only because of Ptah, who was Geb, the earth-god (59), but also because Osiris was drowned there and was buried there, causing its richness and fertility (62-64), and Horus

[21] Except Nut, wife of Geb; but this is no doubt due to the fragmentary condition of parts of the text.

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his son was crowned there as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, which he ruled by the power of Osiris his father, and in the midst of divine beings before him and behind him (64).

According to the Memphite theology, therefore, it was assumed that Ptah existed from all eternity or begat himself (6). He was supreme. He begat and gave birth to Atum and created all gods, beings and things. He was father of all. Indeed, all things first existed in the mind of Ptah, and all subsidiary agencies or beings who had any part in the creation of the world were merely forms or aspects of Ptah, Horus and Thot being the heart and tongue (or thought and word) of Ptah.

Possibly before, but probably after,[22] the rise of the theological systems of Heliopolis and Memphis, there developed in *Ḥmnw*, the city of " the Eight ", which we know under the Greek name, Hermopolis magna, a third great system of theological thinking. This system may have arisen at a time when Hermopolis gained an ascendency over Heliopolis ;[23] but in any case it was solar in character, and perhaps arose, and certainly developed under the influence of the teaching of the Heliopolitan priests. Our knowledge of this system has been greatly enriched and clarified by Sethe in his important essay *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, Berlin, 1929.[24] The home of this third theological system was Hermopolis, which may have derived its name, *Ḥmnw*, from the system which made it famous, namely, the ogdoad of deities. In any case, it became the centre of a theology which taught that there were eight primeval deities who represented the great watery abyss, Nun, from which all things proceeded. Nun himself with his wife Nunet constituted the first pair of this ogdoad ; the second pair were Ḥuḥ and Ḥuḥet ; the third Kuk and Kuket ; and the fourth pair consisted of the famous Amūn and his consort Amūnet (PT 446). These eight deities were thought to have created the sun, which marked the end of chaos. Thus the ogdoad were parents of Rē^{c}, that is, also of Atum.[25] The city of *Ḥmnw* was probably originally called *Wnw*, whose deity was a hare-goddess, *Wnw.t*. Perhaps after

[22] For details as to the possible dates of origin, see Boylan Thot, chapter III ; Sethe Amūn, 77 ; Sethe Urgeschichte, 165 ; Moret Nile, 380.

[23] See Sethe Urgeschichte, 165-7. Kees Götterglaube, 313-14, seems to oppose this view.

[24] Cf. Roeder, in ARW, 15 (1912), 59-96.

[25] On the contrary, according to other views, Atum created the ogdoad ; see Sethe Urgeschichte, 163-4 ; Sethe Amūn, 101 ; Roeder, " Die Kosmogonie von Hermopolis ", ER, I (1933), 1-27.

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the establishment of this third system of theology, the name of the city was changed to *Ḥmnw*. Meanwhile, the god Thot, who was an ancient Delta god and already a member of the Little Ennead of Heliopolis, and who with Horus was the heart and tongue of Atum, and also of Ptah of the Memphite system, was at home in *Ḥmnw* (Hermopolis), and was made the head of the ogdoad, without being reckoned one of them, as in the case of Atum in Heliopolis and Ptah in Memphis. However, the eight deities of Hermopolis were thought to be forms of Thot, and were regarded as his souls. Indeed, Thot, as an ibis, was thought to have laid an egg in a nest on the abyss out of which came the sun-god and all existence ;[26] and he himself was self-created and self-subsistent, the mind, intelligence, and reason of all divine creative power.

Amūn and his consort Amūnet, the fourth pair of deities of the ogdoad of Hermopolis, became identified, at an early period, after the decline of the Herakleopolitan régime, with the Theban nome, whose capital was then Hermonthis, the old *'iwni*, or " Upper Egyptian Heliopolis ",[27] whose god was Montu, whom Amūn displaced. When Thebes became the capital, Amūn and Amūnet firmly established themselves in the new chief city, and by the time of the New Kingdom Amūn was recognized as " king of the gods ", and " head of the ennead ". Indeed, at this " Upper Egyptian Heliopolis " the influence of the old Heliopolis was supreme, so much so that Amūn became Amūn-Rē^{c}. But at the same time he was one of the gods of the ancient ogdoad of Hermopolis at the head of whom was the old moon-god Thot. Perhaps it was under the influence of Thot and the ogdoad of Hermopolis that he associated with himself and his consort Amūnet a neighbouring local moon-god Khonsu as their son. At any rate, the outcome of this double theological tradition in Thebes was that Amūn, one of the ogdoad of Hermopolis, and now supreme god of the " Upper Egyptian Heliopolis ", introduced into Thebes an ogdoadic system of theology, an amalgamation of the theology of Heliopolis and Hermopolis, with himself as Amūn-Rē^{c}, instead of Atum (Rē^{c}) or Thot, at the head. The head of the Theban ogdoad, thus, partook of the character both of Atum (Rē^{c}) of Heliopolis and of Thot of Hermopolis—a sun-god and a moon-god .[28] For a while, during

[26] Pap mag Harris, recto, col. VI, 10-12 ; cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 163 ; Annales, 23 (1923), 65-7.

[27] Sethe Urgeschichte, 144.

[28] Cf. Sethe Amūn, *passim*.

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the reign of Amenophis IV (Ikhnaton), the power of Amūn-Rēᶜ was challenged, but after the fall of Atonism, Amūn became still more powerful, and, as it seems, the cult of the ogdoad of Hermopolis gradually looked to Thebes as its home and centre, so that in the Greek period Thebes, and not Hermopolis, was believed to have been the birthplace of the ogdoad. Meanwhile, however, the ennead of Memphis was still powerful, and apparently had its followers at Thebes, so that there were those who believed that the eight deities of the ogdoad were children of the Memphite Ptah-Tȝ-ṯnn, and Atum (Rēᶜ) was only the grandson of Ptah. But with characteristically Egyptian inconsistency, Amūn-Rēᶜ was at the same time considered father of Ptah, that is, " father of the fathers (Ptah-Tȝ-ṯnn) of the ogdoad ".

As a result of the inter-relationship between the ogdoad of Thebes the ennead of Heliopolis, the ennead of Memphis, and the ogdoad of Hermopolis, the theology of Thebes combined the characteristics of the teaching of all four centres. This comes out very clearly in the great hymn to Amūn, published and commented on with so much skill by Erman in his *Leidener Amonshymnus*, Berlin, 1923. Thebes now is the great holy city, the eye of Rēᶜ (T 10, 2), where his world began (T 10, 1). The theology of Thebes was heard in Heliopolis, told in Memphis, and written in the script of Thot in Thebes (R 300, 2). There in Thebes all gods appear as one—as the hidden name of Amūn, the body of Ptah, and the face of Rēᶜ (R 300, 1). When Atum came to Thebes, he did so to honour Amūn (S 8, 2), who then appeared in the form of the eight gods (N 80, 1 ; cf. Q 200, 3). Amūn has a hidden name (Q 200, 7). He is a mystery to all gods (Q 200, 5), and the science of man cannot know him (Q 200, 6). Amūn pervades all—he is in heaven, in the underworld, in the east, in the west, and in Heliopolis (Q 200, 4). He appears as the sun in heaven (N 80, 3 ; cf. G 50, 1) ; he gave light in the beginning (O 90, 4), his right eye being day, while his left is night (E 600, 2). As the sun, he sails over the heavens (B), defeats the clouds (C), inhabits the underworld at night (B 2, D, Q 4, W), and Shu is his soul (E 2), and thunder his voice (G 50, 2). All gods are inferior to Amūn (Q 5, 1). It is he who supports them (K 2, 5), builds their temples (K 3), and has his own cult in all cities (K 4). According to this eclectic theology of Amūn of Thebes, Amūn was the great primeval watery abyss (*nun*) out of which he himself arose (L, M 1), without father, without mother (L). He impregnated his own body and made an egg (M 2), coming out

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of the egg as a form (M 1), in which existed the eight deities (N 1, O 1, Q 3), as his teeth (O 1). Then he built Atum (Rēᶜ) out of himself (Q 3), and he himself appeared as the sun (N 3), giving light to the world as a flying goose (O 4), and life to all (P). Since then he reigned as king of the world, giving light and life to all, the father of fathers, mother of mothers (P 400), caring for all (A, E 2, F 1), responding to all who beseech him (F 70, 1), and giving ready and effective help in time of need (F 70, 3).

Besides these four great systems of theology there was developed also at Abydos a company of gods with their dogma. This system or " ennead " consisted not of nine deities, but of two Khnums, one Thot, two Horuses, and two Wepwawets (Urkunden, IV, 99).[29] This system was Heliopolitan in form and Osirian in character. A good deal of clear light has been thrown upon it by de Buck's study of a dramatic text published by Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn in *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, Vol. I, London, 1933, pages 82-6. According to this system, the gods are stars, children of the sky-goddess Nut, who (inconsistently) first eats the gods and then gives birth to them. The sun and the moon are the two eyes of Horus, both of which were taken by Set, but later regained by Horus. Then a genealogy of Horus is given which is quite Heliopolitan in form, his ancestry being traced back to Atum who by onanism—in the manner of both the Heliopolitan and the Memphite systems—spitting with his lips into his hand, brought forth Shu and Tefnut.

Similar in form to enneads and ogdoads, but without being the centre of theological systems, were the triads of deities, which were quite common in ancient Egypt. They neither grew into enneads nor is there any evidence to show that enneads developed out of them ; nor were they always families of deities, such as father, mother, and son, as in the case, for example, of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. They, however, seem to have come from the union of neighbouring cults, the principal personage of which had originally been patron of the nome or city into which the other two had been brought to form the triad. Such triads sometimes happened to be also members of the same ennead or ogdoad. In discussing these triads, modern scholars sometimes use the term " trinity ", which is really unjustifiable, for the central idea of the triad in ancient

[29] In the time of Seti I, however, it seems that the pantheon consisted of the seven deities, Amūn, Horus, Isis, Osiris, Rēᶜ, Ptah, and the King (cf. Chronique, 32 (1941), 179). Traces of an ennead of Antaeopolis have been found (Chronique, No. 38 (1944), 182-91).

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Egypt is entirely different from that of the trinity in Christianity, for example, the three deities Amūn, Mut, and Khonsu were in no sense ever considered " three persons in one godhead ".[30]

The local god, Atum, of Heliopolis, attracted Shu and Tefnut, a lion-pair of Leontopolis, a neighbouring town, and formed the great triad of Heliopolis (PT 1652, 1618, 1871) which played such an important rôle in the theological system and ennead of Heliopolis. The triad of Memphis, Ptah, Sekhmet, and Nefertem, later, Ptah, Sekhmet, and Imhotep, was also a family. In the Theban triad Amūn took the local goddess Mūt, instead of his counterpart Amūnet, and with another local deity Khonsu, formed a triad, which was also a family. The triad of Elephantiné consisted of Khnum with two water-goddesses Satis and Anukis. There were other triads such as that of Esne, consisting of Khnum, Menḥi.t, and Ḥeka ; that of Dendera, consisting of mother and two sons, Hathor, 'Iḥi, and *Ḏmȝ-tȝ.wi* ; that of Hermonthis, consisting of Montu, *Rēᶜ-it-tawi*, and Hrprēᶜ ; that of Tuphium (Tôd), made up of Montu, Ṯeneniyt, and Harpocrates ; that of Koptos, consisting of Min and the foreign deities Resheph and Ḳedesh ; although Osiris, Isis, and Horus formed a triad of Koptos, as well as that of Abydos ; and in later times that of Neit, Osiris, and Horus of Sais ; and that of Serapis, Isis, and Harpocrates of Alexandria, where still later Apollon replaced Harpocrates ; etc.

Many of the triads were families, the most famous of which was the divine family made up of Osiris, Isis, and their son Horus. At Thebes the divine family consisted of Amūn, Mūt, and Khonsu ; at Dendera it was Hathor, with her husband taking second place, and their son 'Iḥi ; at Memphis the sacred family was Ptah, Sekhmet, and Nefertem (later Imhotep) ; at Esne it was Khnum, Menḥi.t, and Ḥeka ; at Edfu it was Horus, Hathor, and Harsomtus. Such family groups had the same general origin as the triads—an important deity took in alliance deities of two neighbouring cities or nomes. Sometimes these family relationships became confused, especially in the case of the goddess Hathor, when the father of a family could become the son of his wife, thus, Horus in his form of Harsomtus was the son of Hathor ; the mother could become the wife of her son, thus, Hathor was reputed as both mother and wife of Horus ; or the son could become the husband of his

[30] For details, see S. A. B. Mercer, " Babylonian and Egyptian Triads ", JSOR, 11 (1927), 137-41 ; cf. H. Jacobsohn, *Die Dogmatische Stellungen des Königs in der Theologie der alten Aegypter*, Glückstadt, 1939, *passim*.

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mother, thus, Horus was reputed as both husband and son of Hathor ; etc.

A common combination of deities, but without any important theological significance, was the duad, or pair of deities. Now, the duad or pair-conception was prominent in ancient Egypt, and it received conscious emphasis. Thus, there were two Egypts, Upper and Lower ; there were the Upper and Lower heaven ; there were the Morning (*mꜥnḏ.t*) and the Evening (*mśkt.t*) boat of the sun ; the pairs sun and moon, day and night, east and west were emphasized ; there were the two lords (*nb.wi*) and the two gods (*nṯr.wi*) ; there were Shu as the right eye, the sun, and Tefnut as the left eye, the moon ; there were a pair of falcons of Koptos, and a pair of lions of Leontopolis ; there was a male and a female falcon ; there was a *Mr.t*-goddess of Upper and one of Lower Egypt ; there were two sources of the Nile ; but the most famous of all pairs were the gods Horus and Set.[31] There were many other divine pairs, such as, Horus and Thot (who often took the place of Set) ; Atum of Heliopolis and Montu of Thebes, as lords of Lower and Upper Egypt ; Atum of Lower Egypt and Khonsu of Upper Egypt ; Min falcon-god of Koptos and Horus ; Min of Koptos and Isis ; Khnum and Ḥḳ.t of Antinoe ; Thot and *Nḫm.t-ꜥwȝii* of Hermopolis ; Onuris and *Mḥi.t* of Thinis ; Ḥw and Sia as tongue and heart of Atum ; Shu and Tefnut, Geb and Nut, Osiris and Isis, Set and (Neit for) Nephthys (PT 1521-3) ; etc. There were still other ways of grouping deities, without any important signification, such as the four sons of Horus, *'Imśti, Ḥȝpi, Dwȝ-mw.t.f, Ḳbḥ-śn.w.f* ;[32] the four deities, Ptah, Sekhmet, Nefertem, Ḥeka ; pentads such as, Isis, Hathor, Mūt, Nephthys, Sekhmet ;[33] and groups of seven, such as the " seven Khus ", made up of *Mȝȝ-itf.f, Kheri-bḳ.f, Merti*, and the four sons of Horus.

[31] Cf. for details, Kees Horus und Seth ; Mercer Horus, *passim.*

[32] For their duties, see Mercer Horus, chapter IV.

[33] E.g. Budge Fetish, 154.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE TWO GREAT CULTS

THE religion of ancient Egypt was definitely polytheistic. Numerous deities were worshipped, singly and in groups, at the same time, in many places. There were consequently many cults, some very important and elaborate, others insignificant and simple. Some important deities were worshipped at many places, at the same time, while many unimportant deities had only one, or very few sanctuaries. The two greatest of all cults of ancient Egypt were those of Osiris and Rē^{c}. They had many characteristics in common, as did all Egyptian cults, but they became so dominant and general that they almost constituted two religions. Indeed, their fundamental principles were so opposite, and their respective theologies so well developed and widespread that we shall find ourselves sometimes describing them as religions and theological systems instead of as cults, which latter, in strict reality they were. Moreover, so great were the theologies of Osiris and Rē^{c} in Egypt, that there were very few, if any, cults which were not Osirian or solar, or both, in colouring and characteristics. There is a sense in which it may be said, with a large measure of truth, that there were but two great religious systems (as opposed to *theological* systems) in ancient Egypt, that of Osiris and that of Rē^{c}. In essence and general character, these two cults as religious systems had their origin largely in the profound impression which two great natural phenomena had made upon the ancient people of Egypt—the sun on the one hand, and on the other the annual inundation of the Nile, which marked nature's resurrection from the dead. Rē^{c} was a sun-god ; Osiris an earth-god, with his time of death and his time of resurrection. So that the two greatest currents of religious thought in ancient Egypt had to do with the sun and its important rôle in the world, and the earth and the part which it played in the affairs of gods and men. In consequence, it is not difficult to understand, as we shall see, how natural it is that these two great cults, or religions, should have arisen, existed, and developed side by side in ancient Egypt ; how they should have had differences and similarities ; how they should have become

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rivals ; and how the solar faith should have become a state cult or religion, and the Osirian faith a cult or religion of the people. Almost throughout the whole history of Egyptian religion, these two great cults existed and often intermingled, the royal cult with the popular cult, but in the end Osiris won. With the decline of the power of the monarchy, the cult of Rē^{c} (or, as it was later called, Amūn, or Amūn-Rē^{c}) declined, until it finally disappeared, leaving Osiris and his cycle in full possession. Thus, heaven itself, which, in Egyptian theology, was at first reserved for royalty, was, thanks to Osiris, gradually opened to lower ranks, until at last it was completely democratized.

Long before the rise of the Heliopolitan school of theology, Osiris had achieved renown, first as a peaceful leader of a higher culture in the eastern Delta, then as powerful all over the Delta, the husband of Isis and father of the great war and sun-god Horus ; and then as conqueror of northern Upper Egypt with an important seat at Abydos. Then he came into conflict with Set, who slew him. Then, at last, it was that he gained his greatest renown, for though slain, he rose again from the dead, and became for his followers a god of the dead and of resurrection, joining that idea to his earlier attribute as a god of culture, of life, growth, earth, and vegetation, a god of the Nile and its inundations. Horus succeeded him as leader, avenged him, and looked to his permanent interest and adoration as a people's god. To the growth of the power and influence of Horus, son of Osiris (and, at the same time, a sun-god, and as such closely allied with Rē^{c}) together with the expansion and popularity of the cult of Osiris, Heliopolis and its theologians could not afford to remain indifferent. So attempts were made by that great school of theology, and centre of religion, to absorb the Osirian cult, but without success. On the contrary, Osiris entered Heliopolis, was adopted into the official ennead as a great grandson of Rē^{c}, and became so powerful and indispensable that the whole system of Heliopolitan theology was manipulated in such a way as to include into its very essence the fundamental teaching of Osiris. Indeed, it was at Heliopolis that Osiris attained in many respects the heights of his theological reputation. All this clearly appears in the contents of the Pyramid Texts. Henceforth, during the whole history of ancient Egypt, the cult of Osiris even overshadowed that of Rē^{c}, becoming the dominant feature of all Egyptian religion. But it was as champion and friend of the dead, and not as a member of the Heliopolitan ennead, that he

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gained his eminence in Egyptian religion. His adoption in the ennead and theology of Heliopolis was due to his own inherent character, importance, and greatness. No wonder that he came to be called *nb-r-ḏr*, " lord as far as the boundary ", and that according to legend he was " the primeval matter of primeval matter ",[1] so that when he came into the world a voice was heard saying, " The lord of all is born ! "[2]

Although the theology of Heliopolis arose at a time when the career of Osiris was well established, it was all-powerful by the Fifth Dynasty, when Rēᶜ, head of the divine ennead, became the great state-god of Egypt, and the priests of Heliopolis declared that " divine forms (i.e. the gods) issued forth from the mouth of Rēᶜ ".[3] From then on, the king was called " son of Rēᶜ ", and when he died he went to heaven where he was united with Rēᶜ (PT 1000). This Rēᶜ-dynasty was particularly devoted to the sun-god, and each king built a vast sanctuary for the worship of Rēᶜ in connection with the royal residence. The influence of Rēᶜ became so great, at an early date, throughout Egypt, that most gods, except Osiris and Ptah, in other centres became sun-gods, and took double names to indicate their oneness with Rēᶜ. Thus, there arose Montu-Rēᶜ, Amūn-Rēᶜ, Sebek-Rēᶜ, Khnum-Rēᶜ, and all Egyptian religion became greatly permeated with sun-religion. And while Upper Egypt seemed to have been more susceptible to the cult of Rēᶜ, and the Delta to that of Osiris, yet by the time of the Pyramid Texts there was a marked commingling of the two, sunshine and verdure, the solar kingdom of the dead and the Osirian kingdom of the underworld, and a state-religion and a religion of the masses, which last, however, never merged, for the struggle between the two went on until the final victory of the latter, with the end of the cult of Rēᶜ and the triumph of Osiris and his cycle.

The systematic and deliberate commingling of Osirian theology with that of Rēᶜ began in the Pyramid Texts, the groundwork of which was the Heliopolitan theology of sun-worship. As Osiris could not be ignored by the theologians of Heliopolis, they made him the son of Geb, one of the gods of their system, and ascribed to Geb the act of drawing Osiris into the ennead—Geb, who, they said, attended Osiris in his misfortune at the hand of Set (PT 840, 843, 639 ; 626, 1627), who opposed the gods who were enemies of

[1] Budge Legends, p. 7.
[2] Plutarch IO, 12.
[3] PT 800, 1720 ; cf. Louvre, Stela C 3.

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Osiris (PT 590, 634, 1830), and who was responsible for Osiris's place in the ennead (PT 1689).

There was a time when Osiris was considered by devotees of the solar faith as a very dangerous god (PT 1266-7) and definitely hostile to men (PT 1264-79), ruling a realm feared and dreaded (PT 251, 350). Accordingly, there was much opposition to him (PT 145-6 ; cf. 350), and it was even considered necessary to protect the pyramid, the great symbol of Rē^{c}, the sun-god, from possible aggression of Osiris and his cycle (PT 1266-7). But the theologians of Heliopolis were soon convinced that they must come to terms with Osiris. So very soon all was changed, and the priests of Heliopolis began to welcome Osiris to their midst, with the result that their whole system was gradually Osirianized. As it now appears in the Pyramid Texts, Osiris is equally prominent with Rē^{c}. Not only are detailed alterations to be met with at almost every turn, but also whole passages are expanded to include numerous Osirian elements. A good example of this Osirianization of the Pyramid Texts may be seen in Ut. 51. (Compare, for example, Ut. 571 with Ut. 570, the former without a single reference to Osiris, the latter full of them). Indeed, the process was carried so far as to make Osirian teaching itself contradictory, as is the case when Set is made to perform mortuary offices for Osiris (PT 848-50). Even the deceased monarch became an Osiris in Rē^{c}'s heaven. Thus, Pepi became " Osiris, king Pepi " ; Unis became " Osiris, king Unis " ; Mernere became " Osiris, king Mernere " ; and this change was so often called for that the work of the scribe became so mechanical that he sometimes inserted " Osiris " before the king's name only at the beginning of a phrase, and not also when it occurred elsewhere (cf. PT 72-6 ; 78-9 ; 77, 81, 93). The victory of Osiris in Heliopolitan theology was so complete that the deceased king even in his coffin, in the pyramid sepulchre, was called " Osiris, lord of the Dat " (PT 8). Furthermore, the sky itself was Osirianized, and the " imperishable stars " were called the " followers of Osiris " ; the celestial ferryman and his boat (PT 1201), the reed floats (PT Ut. 303), and the ladder (PT Uts. 306, 474, 480, 572) were all pressed into the service of Osiris, and even Set assisted him in making his way to heaven (PT Ut. 305). Not only were the four sons of Horus also Osirianized (PT Uts. 541, 544-6, 648) which would be quite natural, but likewise the four celestial Horuses (PT Uts. 325, 563) in their services on behalf of the dead. In fact, the whole ritual of offerings, including the daily services on

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behalf of the dead king, was completely Osirianized by the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.

Conversely, Osiris was gradually celestialized by the Heliopolitan system ; his mortuary doctrines were solarized and celestialized ; his rôle was so well reconciled with that of Rēᶜ that it could be said that it was by the orders of Rēᶜ that the slain Osiris had been resuscitated by Anubis, Thot, and Isis,[4] and that it had been the tribunal of Heliopolis which declared Osiris justified (PT 957, 1689) ; and he himself ascended to the sky, the realm of Rēᶜ (PT Ut. 337). Indeed, he even assumed the title "lord of heaven" and was represented as ruling there (PT 964, 968), according a welcome to the deceased king on his arrival in heaven (PT 2000)—Osiris, god of the dead, becoming a veritable heaven-god.[5] From being a god hostile to the deceased king and his pyramid tomb (PT Ut. 534), Osiris ended by being identified not only with the dead king, but also with his temple and pyramid tomb (PT 1657-8). However, it must be remembered that while the teachings of Heliopolis were Osirianized, and those of Osiris, to some extent, celestialized, the former still remained fundamentally celestial, just as the latter still remained Osirian. Rēᶜ remained chief in heaven and in the religion of the court, though he became better known among the masses ; and Osiris remained god of the dead and saviour of the common people, though his home was also in heaven with whom the royal deceased had to be reconciled and identified.

The theology of Rēᶜ was fundamentally solar and heavenly. Rēᶜ was a creator god and a king by nature. He, thus, became patron of the earthly king, and later his veritable father. When the king died, he went home to his father in heaven, and there he passed his time much as he did when on earth. There he remained a king, sometimes as important as Rēᶜ himself. Rēᶜ and his theology concerned themselves with the world, its origin, creation, and government ; while Osiris and his doctrine were concerned with the problems of life, death, resurrection, and a righteous future. The liaison between the two was Horus, who was at one and the same time a sky, heaven, and sun-god, and also dutiful son and heir of Osiris.[6] Osiris was originally perhaps a human leader who after his death was deified. Because of the higher culture which he had introduced into Egypt, when he became

[4] PT 721 represents Rēᶜ himself as having raised Osiris from the dead.

[5] Cf. Erman Religion, 103.

[6] The fight between Horus and Set has both a cosmic and a human aspect.

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a god, one of the chief attributes ascribed to him was that of fertility. Thus, he was identified with the Nile and its inundations, he was associated with the soil, the earth, water, rain, vegetation, and the fertility of plants, animals, and men. As he was slain and rose again, and as all verdure dies and comes to life again, so he became also a god of death and resurrection, a god of the abode of the numberless dead, the underworld. He was from the beginning a patron of culture, including truth and justice, and just as he himself was declared just, after his death at the hand of Set, so the deceased had to be tried and judged at death as a preliminary to entering the underworld kingdom of Osiris. So Osiris was also lord of judgment and of the underworld. He was king of the dead, as he had been leader and king of the living, and after his death and deification his son Horus became king and royal god, so that every human king of Egypt henceforth became a Horus, and reigned in his name. Accordingly, all three were intimately associated with kingship in Egypt, Rē^{c} as state-god, Horus as royal-god, and Osiris as god and king of the dead.

Nowhere in the Pyramid Texts was the mingling of the two faiths more thorough than in ideas about the future,[7] so that the task of separating them is exceedingly difficult if not impossible. Before the development of the two great cults there was no doubt a very primitive and universal belief in prehistoric Egypt in some sort of a subterranean abode of the dead. According as the cult of Osiris developed, being an earth-god and god of the dead, this idea of a subterranean abode expanded and grew richer and richer in detail. The idea of a judgment and possible punishment was elaborated and depicted in detail, as was also the idea of the darkness and dangers, and that of the divisions in space and time there. And while the priests of Heliopolis attempted to find a place for Rē^{c} in their views of a subterranean hereafter their attempts were not wholly successful. Rē^{c} could pass through the subterranean kingdom of Osiris, but he never remained there, nor did he ever feel at home there. This underworld kingdom was open to every individual who was willing to take Osiris as his example and guide, but Rē^{c}, a heaven-god, would receive no one into his heavenly kingdom but the king, the royal family, and some close friends. It is true that the heavenly hereafter tended later to be open to all, high and low, rich and poor ; but that was definitely due to Osirian

[7] The idea of the future or the hereafter in Egyptian religious thought will be treated in detail in chapter XIX.

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influence, just as the pure Osirian hereafter was to an extent celestialized (PT 1345). But in essence, the Osirian idea of the hereafter was just as different from the solar idea as the underworld was from heaven. So that a fundamental difference between the two existed from prehistoric times, when the Osirian faith involved a forbidding hereafter opposed to celestial blessedness (e.g. PT 350), to the latest times in Egyptian religious history, when heaven was as unpopular as the state religion itself, and the Osirian hereafter was completely democratized.

However, the two versions of life beyond the grave were so combined, interwoven, and reconciled (even to the extent of confusion)[8] fortified by the facts that the sun-god died every day in the west and rose again in the east, that Osiris and Rē^{c} represented Egypt's two greatest natural phenomena, the Nile and the sun, that both gods were identified in the hereafter with the deceased king, that they both possessed but one soul united (BD, 17)[9] and were identified as *wśir-rē*^{c} ;[10] that it is difficult to determine whether the idea of the *ba* and *ka* was originally solar or Osirian. The idea of the dead becoming a star is no doubt solar in origin, but the question as to whether the individual was thought to have been immortal by nature or by means of certain ritual acts may have been originally either solar or Osirian.

The general outline of the career of both Osiris and Rē^{c} can be traced with probability down to the time of the Pyramid Texts,[11] and thence with a fair amount of certainty to the very end of Egyptian religious history. The career of Osiris may be divided into two great periods—the earlier one extending down to the time of the Pyramid Texts, during which he was primarily a great leader and bringer of a higher culture ; a peaceful political power, who united the Delta and northern Upper Egypt into one realm ; the ideal husband and father ; and, after his death and resurrection, a god of fertility, and also a god of the dead, of resurrection, and of a subterranean realm beyond the grave. The later period extended from the time of the Pyramid Texts until the end, when he was primarily god of all the dead, judge and king of the underworld,

[8] Good examples of confusion are to be found in Ut. 606, where the king is identified with both Osiris and Rē^{c} in the same passage ; and in many passages quite at variance with Osirian doctrine, which are nevertheless applied to Osiris (e.g. PT 204, 206, 370, 390).

[9] Grapow, *Das 17. Kapitel des aegyptischen Totenbuches*, Berlin, 1912, p. 39.

[10] Erman Religion, 103.

[11] See for details, Mercer Horus, chapter III.

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a kingdom situated in the west, or below the western horizon, where it merged into the nether world, the Dat (Dwat) of the Pyramid Texts (e.g. 8).[12]

Osiris was popular from the very first, and he was worshipped extensively in all periods. During the Old Kingdom his cult flourished, when the whole system of mortuary maintenance (see chapter XX) came under his domination. There is a gap in our knowledge of Egypt between the Old and the Middle Kingdom, but there is plenty of evidence to show that Osiris was as popular and more so, if possible, during the Middle Kingdom than ever before. He was now the universal lord. By the time of the end of the Middle Kingdom and the beginning of the New Kingdom the great triumph of Osiris was in sight. The common people had already assumed and were continuing the ancient mortuary usages ; prayers were beginning to be inscribed on tombs to supply the needs of the dead, which grew into a body of mortuary literature, in part, the *Coffin Texts*, and later the *Book of the Dead* ; the after-life now ceased to be only mainly royal and became the possible portion of any one ; but being unknown to the common man it was feared as a place of peril and danger, so prayer and ritual became magic and charms ; charts and maps of the underworld were prepared by theologians, marking the routes and gateways to be passed, so we have the Am Dwat or *Book of that which is in the Underworld*, the *Book of the Two Ways*, the *Book of Gates* ; the idea of an Osirian judgment before entering the underworld made a deep impression on the popular mind, and with it spread the belief in a moral responsibility which reached beyond the grave ; the Osirian religion thus became a great power for righteousness among the masses ; and Abydos became the " Jerusalem " of ancient Egypt.

The joyful character of the religion of Osiris of the Middle Kingdom was somewhat toned down during the New Kingdom by the emphasis upon individual moral responsibility. During the imperial age, and more especially the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, the cult of Osiris, while still popular, was overshadowed by the grandeur of the state religion of Rē^{c} and Amūn-Rē^{c}. It is true that the *Book of the Dead* still held Osiris to be the greatest of all the gods ; that Haremhab could say of Osiris, " thou art the father and mother of men, they live from thy breath " ;[13] and that Seti I and Rameses II were special worshippers of Osiris ; but this

[12] Cf. Breasted Development, chapters VIII and X.

[13] A Hymn to Osiris, ÄZ, 38 (1900), 31.

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was all insignificant in comparison with the imperial grandeur of the sun-cult of Thebes. However, by the Twenty-second Dynasty the cult of Osiris was again supreme among high and low, rich and poor. There was a great surge of popular religion during the Saite period ; at the destruction of Thebes in 663, Osiris took the place of Amūn ; and from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty on the cult of Osiris was the great factor in religious life in Egypt. During the Ptolemaic period, the cult of Osiris completely submerged that of Amūn, and Osiris, first as Ptah-Soker-Osiris, and then as Serapis, that is Osiris-Apis (the bull Apis being the " life of Osiris "),[14] became supreme in state as well as in popular religion. The cult of Osiris, gradually Hellenized, finally passed out into the Graeco-Roman world, and thence into many parts of Western Asia and Europe.

The earliest worshippers of Rē^{c} in Egypt had probably migrated, in prehistoric times, into the Valley of the Nile from without.[15] They were an intellectual people, and were the first, so far as we know, to record their thoughts for future generations. The learned men of their great capital, Heliopolis, wrote down their ideas of the world and the gods and how men lived and were governed. In time, these ideas grew into a system of theology, philosophical in some simple respects, which has survived to our day in what we call the Pyramid Texts. The religion of these men was a sun-cult learned and aristocratic, which in time became the state religion of ancient Egypt, and remained so, with varying vicissitudes from the Fifth Dynasty until the fall of the imperial city of Thebes in 663 B.C. It was a heaven-religion with a royal hereafter. During the Middle Kingdom the appeal of the religion of Osiris was very powerful, especially in men's growing sense of moral responsibility, but there was a weakness in Osirian teaching in that moral consequences were limited to apply only to the life beyond the grave. This defect was remedied by the religion of Rē^{c} which demanded moral responsibility and social justice here in this world. And with the expansion of the kingdom into an empire, beginning with the Eighteenth Dynasty, the idea furnished a strong reason for the universal character of sun-religion which now was becoming popular and powerful. Indeed this new imperialism and widened moral vision were the main factors in the new and original tendency towards the universal character of the cult of the universal sun, that is, towards sun-monotheism, which found eloquent expression in

[14] Budge Legends, 231, and n. 1 ; cf. Budge Gods, II, 196.

[15] See Mercer Horus, chapters II and III.

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the sun-hymns of the reign of Amenophis III, some of the best in all Egyptian literature. In accordance with this movement, it appears that Thutmose III tried to merge the priesthoods of all the temples of the land into one great ecclesiastical system at the head of which was the god Amūn or Amūn-Rē^{c}. But there was a reaction against this in the Atonism of Amenophis IV (Ikhnaton), which, nevertheless, was only another form of sun-worship, indeed, it was sun-worship gone fanatical. Amūn declined, for a short time, and Aton increased, but one and both were sun-worship, and the supremely beautiful hymns and prayers of the reign of Ikhnaton were just as solar in characteristics as those of the reign of Amenophis III. There was a very pleasing freshness about the Aton-cult of sun-religion, which contrasted strongly with the orthodoxy of Osirianism, in emphasizing truth, in a new manner, and in rejecting magic and magical rites. So for the time being Osiris and his cult were sadly neglected, especially in the large administrative centres.

With the restoration of Amūn, an age of repentence and personal piety set in, and also a gradual return of the popular cult of Osiris. Amūn became, like Osiris, the champion of the common man and of the distressed of whatever rank. This fact comes out in the numerous prayers of the Twenty-first and following Dynasties, in which also the individual often appears as a penitent sinner, evidence of an awakening and emancipated conscience. This was the final contribution of the cult of the sun, an advance in morals, a love of truth, a regard for the highest practical ideals, and a universal idea of god, which laid the foundation for future monotheism. But all this was arrested by priestly ambition, when the head of the cult became the head of the state, so that when the state fell at the hand of the Assyrians, the cult of the sun was dealt a deathly blow. Thenceforth Osiris and his cycle were left without opposition. Until 663 B.C. Osiris and Rē^{c} shared an adoration and affection of the majority of Egyptians. From time to time, since early in the dynastic period, the two great gods were identified; the deceased, as a scribe of Rē^{c}, was also a scribe of Osiris;[16] in the Coffin Texts, Osirian and Solar beliefs were commingled; in the recension of the Book of the Dead of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Osiris and Rē^{c} are said to have "joined souls" and to have become one;[17] and in the *Tale of Two Brothers* certain aspects of the legend of Osiris are interwoven with others of the sun-god legend. But

[16] RT, 31 (1909), 10 f.
[17] Budge Gods, I, 148-9.

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after 663 B.C. the cult of the sun, like those of all the oldest gods and goddesses passed into oblivion with the exception of Osiris (Serapis), Isis, Anubis, and Horus as Harpocrates,[18] indeed, Herodotus indicated that in his day Osiris and Isis, that is Osiris and his cycle, were the only gods who were worshipped throughout the whole of Egypt (II, 42). It is true that Amūn as a sun-god was still recognized and adored, to a certain extent, in the Ptolemaic period, but his cult was finally and completely submerged by that of Osiris, which was left without rival, so that it can be truly said that the religious ceremonies of the Graeco-Roman period in Egypt were largely the same as the Osirian rites of the Old Kingdom—not, indeed, without traces of certain absorbed rites purely solar in origin and character. But of Rē^{c}, the great and ancient state-god of cultured and intellectual Heliopolis, hardly a sign remained after the fall of the native state.

[18] Budge Legends, lxxxiv.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE IDEA OF GOD

ACCORDING to the ancient Egyptians, the world was peopled by men, animals, and gods—a world of two-fold nature, the sensible and the imaginary, the world of phenomena and the world of ideas. Men, animals and things made up the phenomenal world, and the world of ideas, none the less real to the ancient Egyptian, consisted of spirits, demons, gods. And all elements of this two-fold world were interwoven and interrelated, so that the world and life were exceedingly complex, as it always is.

Complex likewise, no doubt, was the origin of the idea of god. Lucretius's theory of fear, Tylor's animism, Spencer's ancestor worship, Otto's mysterium tremendum, all, and others besides, were elements of the conditions which gave rise to the idea of god. Among them, and not the least, was the element of mystery ; and certainly, in the case of the ancient Egyptians, the theory of animism answers more questions and solves more problems about the origin of the idea of god than any other of the many theories at present known.

Ancient Egyptians knew no skepticism.[1] The existence of the gods was as real as the sun and moon, water and plants, birds and beasts. Gods were taken for granted ; and they were believed to be numerous. Everything mysterious, strange, unusual, the source of awe, wonder, fear, admiration, in possession of life, power, superior knowledge, was divine or in some way associated with divinity. As man was believed—as a result of experience—to have a soul, spirit, or double, so all animals, living things, and even objects, such as trees, plants, flowers, water, stones, as well as manufactured things, were thought to have souls also. These souls were in some way associated with divinity, for just as they could exist, unseen, in the external form of an animal or an object, so also could a god exist in and manifest himself by means of the same external form of an animal or object. Thus, in short, the ancient Egyptians believed that certain living things and objects could appear either

[1] The supposed skepticism of *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* (Erman-Blackman Literature, 98) is more fancied than real.

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as external manifestations of divine beings, or as signs or symbols of the presence of gods. If this is animism, then it is certain that the early Egyptian idea of god was to a large extent animistic. The term *fetish* has been applied to such living things, objects, and manufactured things, and rightly so if "fetish" be defined—according to its original meaning—as an object in which a spirit dwells. Thus, the objects depicted on the prehistoric standards of ancient Egypt, if they represented, as we think they did, either the external manifestation of a deity, or were signs or symbols of the presence of a deity, were true fetishes. Such fetishes were known to the earliest indigenous inhabitants of Egypt, and the newcomers to prehistoric Egypt, not only brought their own fetishes with them, but also identified their gods with the indigenous fetishes which they found in their new home. Accordingly, the fetish or symbol of the ancient indigenous god Set was an animal (now extinct, or unidentified), that of Horus was a falcon, that of Osiris a post or trunk of a tree, that of Hathor a tree, that of Nefertem a flower, that of Neit a shield and arrows, that of Thot an ibis, that of Sebek a crocodile, etc., and sometimes the same deity could have more than one fetish or symbol, for example, Horus could appear as a lion as well as a falcon; Amūn-Rē^{c} could appear as a ram, a lion, or a goose, etc. It seems pretty clear then that fetishism was a real factor in the formation of early Egyptian ideas of god. But if, on the other hand, the difference between a fetish and a totem is that a totem implies the idea of personal or clan relationship, which it is generally understood to imply, there is really no sufficient evidence of totemism in the religious thought of ancient Egypt,[2] There is no evidence that the ancient Egyptians believed that they bore any family relationship to a symbol or ensign, animate or inanimate. Nor did the idea of god, in ancient Egypt, originate in ancestor worship, first, because there was no such thing as an organized cult of *ancestor* worship in Egypt at any period,[3] and, secondly, because the worship and adoration of the dead, whether kings or ordinary individuals, had its origin in the belief that the deceased were gods—that is, obviously, their worship and adoration did not

[2] Cf. Mercer Horus, 42-3, and 43, n. 14; also Galloway, *The Philosophy of Religion*, New York, 1914, 96.

[3] The worship of the deceased pharaoh and the mortuary rites at the tomb of a deceased individual was not adoration of them in their quality of ancestor, but rather that being now gods, as any deceased could become, *whether ancestor or not*, they were as such objects of adoration and mortuary ceremonies.

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originate the idea of god ; the idea of god was already there, before worship and adoration began. Moreover, the Egyptians certainly never thought that all gods were deified souls of dead men. If they did there is no evidence of it in the vast literature which they left behind them. Imhotep and a few others like him (see, above chapter XIV) may be accepted as an exception ; the pharaohs[4] also could possibly be interpreted in this sense, but certainly not the rank and file of the scores of Egyptian deities. It may be conceded that a superstitious fear of the spirits of the dead runs through all earlier cultures ; but the deliberate adoration and worship of the soul of a departed ancestor is something higher than this superstitious terror.

The earliest objective form taken by Egyptian deities was that of a living creature or a thing, such as the falcon of Horus and the bow and arrows of Neit. That is, it was in this way, thought the Egyptians, that divine beings objectified themselves.[5] The deity was thought to be *in* the object, as Rē^{c} was in the obelisk ;[6] or was represented, or symbolized, by the object, as Min was by the thunderbolt.[7] Many gods were called after the living creature by means of which they were objectified, such as Mūt the vulture of 'Išr.w ; and the same god could be objectified in different forms, such as Rē^{c} who appeared as a man, a beetle, or as a sun-disk. Then, the object, whether living creature or thing, *in* which the god was manifested, or *by* which he was symbolized, was personified, that is, it was treated as a living, personal being ; thus, for instance, the *ḏd* and $^{c}nḫ$ were given eyes and arms (Budge Fetish, 64), and stelas were represented with ears (Erman Religion, 145). Abstract ideas likewise were personified, such as, for example, *mȝ^{c}.t*, " truth ". When living creatures, inanimate objects, or abstract ideas were personified, living creatures were often objectified in the form

[4] Although pharaohs went to heaven not as souls or spirits, but as men with bodies, parts, and passions ; and these to a very marked degree, compare, for example, PT 379-80, which tell how Isis and Nephthys offer their hips upon which the king may mount to the sky, while Atum reaches down and seizes his arm ; or PT Ut. 273, where the savage pharaoh in heaven preys upon the gods as a ferocious hunter (cf. JEA, 10 (1924), 97 ff.) ; or again PT 58, where Thot is said to convey food to heaven and deliver it to the dead pharaoh.

[5] Thus, according to the Palermo Stone, the ritual making of a statue caused a god to be born, that is, objectified him (cf. Moret Nile, 362). The first known hieroglyph to denote divinity was a falcon on his perch.

[6] Cf. Schaefer, OLZ, 32 (1929), 722-25.

[7] Sethe Denkmal, I, 68 ff.

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of a man or woman with some part of their person in the form of the personified creature. Thus, Horus, as a falcon, was often objectified in the form of a man with the head of a falcon. Inanimate objects were usually objectified in the form of a person, adorned with, or carrying, a representation of the object. Thus, Ḥapi, the Nile-god, wears aquatic plants on his head, or pours water from vases. Abstract ideas, when personified, simply assumed the form of a person, sometimes with a symbol of the idea. Thus, Maat appeared as a woman, wearing a feather, the symbol of truth, on her head. The earliest objectification of deities was in animal or animate form; the latest was in complete human form.[8] Cosmic gods, as a rule, were represented in human form; and so were deities of foreign origin, such as Osiris, Neit, etc.; and also abstract deities. Living creatures, inanimate objects and abstract ideas thus personified were then deified. That is, the personified animal, thing, or idea was thought to be an objectification of a deity. It was then adored and worshipped as being either in very deed a divine being or a personified creature, thing, or idea, whose indwelling personality, double, or soul was a deity. Between these two extremes of understanding the nature of the divine presence, most Egyptian thought could somewhere be found. Besides the deification of living creatures, inanimate objects, and abstract ideas, already personified, men also were sometimes deified, as we have already seen in chapter XIV.

The ancient Egyptians perforce, like all mankind, made the gods in their own image. Their idea of a divine being was completely anthropomorphic. Gods, according to their way of thinking had the same feelings and needs as men. Their experiences were like those of men—they were born like men (PT 1446); they grew old as Rēᶜ did; they suffered, died, and were slain;[9] they were buried;[10] they cohabited, as Amūn-Rēᶜ did with the queen, had children, like Geb and Nut (PT 1510), and the deified pharaoh in heaven was supplied with a mistress (PT 123); they were cruel and savage, as the deified pharaoh who ate the gods in heaven; they had human vices, as Sekhmet, who was drunken and cruel; they were punished like refractory men (PT 1027); they had their

[8] Cf. A. M. Badawi, *Der Gott Chnum*, Glückstadt, 1937. Complex and grotesque forms were unusual and late.

[9] Cf. Moret, *La mise à mort du Dieu en Egypte*, Paris, 1927; cf. AE, 1928, I; RT, 38 (1917), 33-61.

[10] Erman Leid Amonshymnus, W 800, 3; D and Q 4.

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wars,[11] and were not omniscient, for they had to walk on earth to see what was done ; and they were not always superior to men (BAR, I, 240), and men could control them by means of magic. Gods were represented with numerous ears and eyes (77 ears and 77 eyes, according to Pap Harris mag, 7, 6), but it is recorded (BD, 65) that the deceased told his gods that if his prayer was not granted he would cause the whole order of the universe to be upset. In short, deities were treated as men and women though great ones, and, with the exception of Ikhnaton, who never represented the Aton in human form, the most learned and cultured among the ancient Egyptians, not knowing the constitution, nature, and laws of the universe, as we know them, applied to deities, heaven, the underworld, demons, and spirits the same conceptions which they applied to the world of objective and tangible things in which they lived. Thus, the deceased pharaoh, though a god, on his way to heaven, needed physical stairs on which to mount (PT 365), although he was also thought to be able to fly like a goose and flutter like a beetle (PT 366).

The usual Egyptian word for " god " is a single sign generally used as a phonogram, but often written out as *nṯr* or *ntr*. The

Fig. 95
NṮR

former is the transcription usually used. The meaning of the root is still uncertain,[12] but the word as we have it in both its phonetic and spelt-out form stands for " god ", and something " divine ". It is also found standing for " god ", just as a picture of the falcon stood for " god ", and as a picture of the uraeus stood for goddess.[13] It is likewise used with the falcon to mean " god " (Urkunden, I, 50, 5). The occurrence of the same sign on predynastic pottery[14]

[11] Roeder Urkunden, 210.

[12] Cf. ZATW, 36 (1916), 129-86 ; 38 (1920), 87-104 ; Moret Nile, 359-60.

[13] Cf. Kees Horus und Seth, II, 15-16 ; cf. also Sethe Urgeschichte, 180 ; Junker Stundenwachen, 79, D XIV, 4 ; Arkell, JEA, 19 (1933), 175-6.

[14] Cf AE, 1914, II ; 1915, II, 81, No. 95.

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leaves no doubt that it was an ancient nome symbol or ensign. But what the symbol or ensign pictured is not so certain, and perhaps not as important, for, as it happens, it, as well as the nome symbol or ensign "falcon", came, in some unknown way, to be used as a ideogram for "god"; and it, more than the "falcon-"sign, was reserved, for some unknown reason, for writing the wȯrd in Egyptian which corresponds to the English word "god", or "divine". Whether it pictured a stone axe,[15] a flag,[16] a conventional picture of the scaffold or stand on which a clan emblem was carried,[17] or a willow with a rag tied to the end of it,[18] the fact remains that it was an ancient nome symbol, emblem, or ensign, that is, an external representation of a deity, and was, no doubt, used, like other ensigns, in a manner similar to the way in which we use a flag. But how, and in what manner, this axe-like, flag-like thing came to be used as an ensign cannot yet be demonstrated. And for that reason, and, no doubt, others, it adds nothing to our understanding of the ancient Egyptian's idea of god, or the divine.

Gods and places, as well as men, had souls. Indeed a deity was often thought to have had several souls, and in these souls to have been able to live contemporaneously both in heaven and on earth. The souls (*bȝ.w*) of gods were of course divine, and so were the souls of cities and other places, and as such received adoration. It has been thought that the souls of cities and other places were the souls of their deceased rulers (Sethe Urgeschichte, 173; PT 1089), in any case they were gods of such cities and places. Souls were usually represented in the form of birds, often a *benu*-bird, sometimes in the form of a ram, an ape, a crocodile, a snake, a grasshopper, a lotus, etc. It was often thought that Osiris had four souls. The souls of Osiris and Rē^{c} were very closely allied, and were sometimes identified as twin-souls.[19] Sometimes one god was thought to be the soul of another. Thus, it was thought that Rē^{c} was the soul of Nun, Khnum was the soul of Shu. And sometimes it was thought that one of the characteristic animals of a god was his soul, e.g. the buck of Mendes was thought to be the soul of Osiris, the crocodile was thought to be the soul of Sebek, etc. Kings as well as gods had

[15] E.g. Budge Fetish, 137 f.; Budge Gods, I, 64 ff.

[16] E.g. Blackman Meir, II, 35; Blackman, *Man*, 10 (1910), No. 11; JEA, 19 (1933), 175-6.

[17] Moret Nile, 359.

[18] M. A. Murray, in Griffith Studies, 312.

[19] BD (Budge), pp. cxliii and 102.

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divine souls (PT 762), and so did cities and other places, e.g. Heliopolis, Hermopolis, Buto, Hierakonpolis,[20] just as did the East and the West.[21] And these souls, whether of gods, kings, or cities were adored and had their cult.[22]

The Egyptians, as we have seen, peopled their world with divine beings. They seem to have been inclined to personify and deify almost anything which arrested their attention. Thus, they had cosmic and nature deities ; they had city, nome, and national gods ; they deified men, living creatures, inanimate objects, and ideas ; they had vocational gods, and gods of months, days, and hours ; they had numerous special gods, demons, spirits, and nameless gods ; they had groups of deities, cycles of gods, enneads, ogdoads, pentads, triads, pairs, and families of gods ; and, from time to time, they accepted and adored foreign deities. Because of their great number, there is no wonder that some deities absorbed others, many were identified the one with the other, and very often one deity was associated with another or with two or more other deities. Thus, for example, Osiris absorbed Anzti, Amūn became identified[23] with Rē^{c} as Amūn-Rē^{c} ; Horus and Thot were associated ; and sometimes three gods became one, as in the case of Atum, Rē^{c}, and Harachte, or Ptah, Soker, and Osiris. This state of affairs was due to various causes ; in the case of immigration, or migration, the god of a more powerful and virile group would absorb the god of the invaded locality ; and any powerful god was liable to be admired by the people of other cities and districts than his own, with the result that the god of the admiring group would be identified with the great god, and such gods as Rē^{c}, Ptah, and Amūn could be identified with almost any or every god of the whole land. There was a distinct tendency to identify various divinities with one another, and there was so much in common between deities that association was widespread. Indeed, local gods were almost compelled by circumstances to share their worship with such almost universal gods as Osiris, Rē^{c}, and Amūn. At the height of his power in Thebes, it is perhaps correct to say that many gods of the provinces

[20] Sethe Urgeschichte, 165-6, 127.

[21] BD (Budge), p. clvii f.

[22] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 165.

[23] Although the same god could operate at different places under the same name and form (e.g. Khnum as a ram at Elephantiné, Esne, Hypselis, Antinoe), yet his functions at each place were different, each of which was later identified with a different god (see Sethe Urgeschichte, 17).

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had come to be considered but forms and names of the great imperial god Amūn.

In ancient Egypt as in all primitive times, when there was no general demand in thought for co-operation in supernatural powers, and when the sense of variety in the world was predominant, the apparently isolated character of natural phenomena seemed to men to demand a number of separate divine agencies. These agencies were deities, and they were just as numerous as necessities and conveniences demanded. And so Sinuhe could appeal to "god, whosoever thou art",[24] believing that even his flight from his native land was ordained by some god or other. In a word, the Egyptians were pure polytheists, and could not have been anything else in view of the conditions of the age in which they lived. Some Egyptologists, such as de Rougé, Renouf, Chabas, Pierret, Brugsch, Virey, Budge, ascribed monotheism to the ancient Egyptians—sometimes a kind of unexplained, mystical, primitive monotheism. Many others have ascribed, and some do still attribute, the teaching of monotheism to the reforming pharaoh, Ikhnaton. However, it seems to most impartial students of religions abundantly clear that no pure monotheism can be found in any extant literature of ancient Egypt.[25] It is natural that there should always have been a tendency to glorify and magnify individual deities, within the limits of the mental horizon of the worshipper. And so, as early as the Pyramid Texts the sun-god, for example, was addressed as "limitless". But "limitless" to the ancient Egyptian did not reach very far beyond the borders of the Nile Valley. Even when Thutmose III said that his god "seeth the whole earth hourly"—meaning the sun-god—the "whole earth" did not extend very far measured by modern conceptions. The great Amūn-hymn of Leiden, and the splendid sun-hymn of the two architects, Suti and Hor, now in the British Museum, both of the Eighteenth Dynasty, are good examples of the way in which a great and popular god, like the sun-god, could be glorified. The sun-god was the "sole lord", and at the same time he was "a mother profitable to gods and men". Even the "sole god, beside whom there is no other" of Ikhnaton was uttered at the same time that the king himself recognized the existence of other gods (see above, chapter IX). Indeed, the phrase "sole and only one" was used of Amūn after the time of Ikhnaton. The religion of ancient Egypt was always polytheistic, without

[24] Erman-Blackman Literature. 22.

[25] For details, see above, chapter IX.

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exception. There was a natural tendency to what is called henotheism, that is, to the belief that each nation has but one god, without denying the existence of the gods of other nations, as in the case of Judges xi. 24. Already in the feudal age in Egypt there was such a tendency, and perhaps before that time. But there never developed even a real henotheism in ancient Egypt. The writer of the famous hymn to Amūn (Erman Leid Amonshymnus, A 9, 3), and Ikhnaton's ideas approached it, but never quite accomplished it. There were other gods in Egypt beside the Aton, and the Aton's sway extended beyond the borders of Egypt, where other gods were certainly supposed to be. There was also a tendency to monotheism, especially when Egypt became a great empire. This was inevitable, for political oneness naturally had its effects upon ideas of theological oneness. This accounts for the striking expressions in the religious literature of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. But even then a true monotheism was never achieved. Throughout Egyptian religious literature terms may be found, which when taken from their context encourage the seeker of monotheism in ancient Egypt. One of the best examples is the term *nb-r-ḏr*, found very often since the Middle Kingdom, and usually translated " lord of all ", or " All-lord ", although it literally means " lord to the extremity ", or " lord to the limit ". Much has been written about this title, and some have gone so far as to find in it evidence of monotheism. But the very fact that many gods were described as *nb-r-ḏr*, such, for example, as Rēᶜ, Osiris, Rēᶜ-Atum, and that it occurs in its feminine form *nb-r-ḏr.t*, shows that it was a title, sometimes used in reference to specific gods; but more often used as a general title, without reference to any particular god, as, for example " palace of the *nb-r-ḏr* ", " enemy of the *nb-r-ḏr* " ; and also used of the king, or of the successor of the king.[26] The title occurs in all kinds of literature, especially from the time of Amenemhet I, first king of the Twelfth Dynasty, until that of Rameses III of the Twentieth Dynasty.[27] A similar title is that of *nb-tm*, with the same meaning.[28] Epithets, such as " the great god " of mortuary prayers were used as a rule in reference to Osiris or Anubis ; otherwise the title was often applied to Rēᶜ, and sometimes to the king. It was never used by the Egyptians in any monotheistic sense. Nor

[26] See Wörterbuch, 230 f. ; cf. ÄZ, 67 (1931), 54-5 ; Junker Giza, II, 48 f.

[27] Cf. BAR, I-IV, *passim*. It also occurs in Amenemope, e.g. 1. 147 ; and at Edfu (Chassinat and Rochemonteix, I, 551 f. ; II, 36).

[28] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 114.

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were such expressions " his god ", which referred always to the god of some particular person ; or " the god ", which was usually used as in the phrase of the so-called " Negative Confession ", " I have not scorned the god of my town " ; or the " one " god, which indicated some particular god as being *primus inter pares*, so far as the writer or speaker was concerned.[29]

In the famous Amūn hymn, already referred to, it is said in reference to Amūn, " his belly is the heavenly ocean, and what is in it is the Nile " (E 600, 2) ; " his right eye is the day and his left the night " (E 600, 2), (i.e. the sun and moon) ; " the sun is the face of Amūn " (G 50, 1) ; " the earth is his image " (G 50, 1). Amūn is described as the sun in the heavens ; he is in the Dwat, at the head of the East. His soul is in heaven, and his body in the West. His image is in Heliopolis (N 80, 3 ; Q 200, 4).[30] These and other like expressions about Amūn, and similar ones about other gods, have led some students of Egyptian religion, beginning with Brugsch, to speak of Egyptian pantheism. But this, like the application of the terms " monotheism " and " trinity " to phases of Egyptian religion, would be a misuse of terms. By no stretch of the imagination can what we understand by pantheism be applied to Egyptian religion. The above, and similar phrases, were used to give expression to the writer's admiration of the greatness of Amūn, and they do not in any sense constitute a reasoned statement of the complete identification of the god Amūn with the whole world, even as it was known to the ancient Egyptian writer. Nor would such a theory in any way satisfy the demands of an ancient Egyptian for an objective cult and form of worship, for pantheism does not admit of organized worship—it is merely a sentiment of philosophers.

A survey of the titles, functions, attributes, and characteristics of some of the more important deities ought to throw some additional light upon the subject of the idea of god in ancient Egypt. In making such a survey it will be noticed that most deities have numerous functions, and that many gods have the same functions in common. To begin with, let us here note a few of the chief titles and general characteristics of some of the more important

[29] Among present leading Egyptologists, Junker alone thinks that he has found monotheism in early times all over Egypt in the person of *Wr*, " the great one " (e.g. Junker Götterlehre, pp. 25 ff. ; cf. Holmberg Ptah, and Vandier Rel. Egy.) ; but an equally great contemporary Egyptologist, Kees, rightly refuses to admit this (e.g. Kees Götterglaube, pp. 270 ff.) ; cf. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 355, n. 12.

[30] Erman Leid Amonshymnus.

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and oldest of the deities : Osiris was first a leader and bringer of a higher culture, then a god of fertility, a nature god, and then a god of the dead. He was " lord of heaven ", " lord of the Dwat ", " ruler of the dead ", god of the funerary cult, creator, moon-god, bull, god of resurrection, " true of voice " (*mȝᶜ-ḫrw*), " first of the Westerners " (*ḫnti 'imntiw*), god of truth, judge of the dead, earth, water, and tree-god, etc., etc. Rēᶜ was first and foremost a sun-god, a creator, self-originated, " lord of heaven and earth ", king of gods, " lord of truth ", " judge of words ", " god of justice ", pictured as a disk, a falcon, a scarab, a man, a bull, a lion, etc., etc.[31] Horus primarily a leader and war-god, was a sky-god, a sun-god, " lord of heaven ", " he of the horizon ", " lord of two eyes ", " King of Upper and Lower Egypt ", royal-god, " avenger of his father ", " Horus over the Ombite ", god of splendour, majesty, goodness, etc., etc. Set was god of Upper Egypt, a desert god, god of foreigners, an evil god, god of storms and violence, etc. Thot, self-begotten, omnipotent and omnipresent, was primarily a moon-god. He was also a scribe, god of wisdom and magic, the heart and tongue of Rēᶜ, god of art, science, and ritual, reckoner of time, lord of law and right, etc. Amūn was at first a local god, who became the great god of Thebes and, as Amūn-Rēᶜ, the imperial god of Egypt. He assumed all the characteristics and attributes of Rēᶜ, and was besides god of the hidden name and secret forms, omnipresent, the " alone, the one god ", " lord of eternity ", " creator of all that exists ", " lord of truth ", a god of reproduction, etc., etc.[32] Then there were numerous other important deities with, each, many titles, functions, attributes, and characteristics : Anubis, embalmer, opener of the ways, guardian of cemeteries, god of the dead, and weigher of hearts ; Ptah, creator-god, heart and tongue of the Great Ennead ; Min, sky, fertility, moon, and storm-god ; Khnum, creator, inundation, and water-god ; Khonsu, moon-god ; Montu, war-god ; Ḥapi, Nile-god ; Onuris, war, and hunter-god ; Sebek and Soker, gods of the dead ; Sopdu, war-god ; Aton, the sun-disk ; Bes, god of music, joy, and childbirth ; Ḥeka, god of magic ; 'Iḥi, god of music ; Wepwawet, opener of roads, watcher and guide of the dead ; Serapis, late state-god ; Harpocrates, child-god ; etc. There were numerous goddesses with many titles, functions, attributes, and characteristics : Isis was before all the symbol of conjugal fidelity and loving motherhood, goddess of

[31] Cf. " The Seventy-five Praises of Reᶜ ", Budge Fetish, 393-400.

[32] See further Erman Leid Amonshymnus, *passim*.

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fertility, justice, and magic ; Hathor was a sky-goddess, and symbol of love, beauty, joy, fertility ; Neit was an ancient local goddess, male or female, goddess of war, hunting, and weaving ; Maat was goddess of truth and justice, and of physical and moral law ; Bast represented solar heat ; Buto was a national deity ; Ḥeḳet was a creator and birth goddess ; Mūt represented creation, and was a male or female deity ; Meskhent symbolized childbirth ; Satis, a huntress, represented also water, fire, and love ; Seshat was goddess of writing and of literature ; Nephthys represented the desert and barren land, like her husband Set ; Nekhbet was a national goddess, like Buto ; Renenūtet was a harvest goddess ; Thueris symbolized home and childbirth ; etc. Then there were many other deities with their titles, functions, attributes, and characteristics : cosmic deities ; animal gods ; deified human beings ; abstract deities ; foreign deities ; professional and functional gods ; household gods ;[33] many miscellaneous classes of deities (see Budge Gods, II, 291 ff.), all with their attributes and characteristics ; gods of the divisions of the Dwat (Budge Gods, I, 178 f.) ; numerous gods, some with, and many without, defined characteristics, mentioned in the Pyramid Texts, the Coffin Texts, the Book of the Dead, the Tomb of Seti I, etc. There were also numerous obscure beings, called gods ; demons ; individual protective deities ;[34] besides kings living and dead, as well as deceased individuals, who once lived upon earth.

In looking more closely at these titles, functions, attributes, and characteristics, certain ones were more common than others, and they were, moreover, as a rule, those which men ascribed to the greater deities—or perhaps they were ascribed to them, by their worshippers, because they were great deities. There is a score or more of these great attributes, in the following order of frequency of occurrence in extant inscriptions : creator, death, war, sun, heaven, water, fertility, childbirth, evil, national, vegetable, love, moon, hunter, self-originated, earth, air and wind, storm, desert, magic, and child-gods. There were numerous others, such as, for example, primeval chaos, " one ", " king of gods ", father-god, " divine-king ", " lord of the Dwat ", " First of Westerners ", star, moisture, thunder, tree, fire, night and darkness, foreign, life, home, male or female, slayer, resurrection, judge, " opener of roads ", eternity, truth, right, justice, wisdom,

33 Cf. Bruyère, Fouilles, VII, Le Caire, 1930, pt. II, 5 ff.

34 Cf. Budge Gods, I, 161 ; *Aegyptus*, No. 11, 23-8.

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intelligence, authoritative utterance, weigher of hearts, repulser of evil, devourer of the dead, embalmer, guardian of cemeteries, ritual, joy, music, beauty, power, light, revealer of secrets, art, science, literature, writing, arithmetic, weaving, and omniscient and omnipotent gods, etc., etc. Such are the most important of the chief attributes which ancient Egyptians ascribed to their deities. So that although the Egyptians have left us no dogmatic treatise containing a definition of what they meant when they used the equivalent of the English word " god ", we can gather pretty well from their extant literature what their general idea of god was. The Egyptians had no such expressions as First Cause, Pure Being, Infinite force, Absolute Mind, Absolute Reality. Their only expression, which at all may be compared with any of these was *nb-r-ḏr*, which we have already explained, and which is not in the least philosophical or metaphysical in our sense of the term. The Egyptians, as all mankind, described their gods in terms of their own knowledge and experience. To them a divine being was a human being to the n-th degree. He was like a man with a body and a soul. But his body could assume more different forms and aspects than could the body of a man, although the Egyptian believed that a human body, by magic, also could be changed into other forms. His soul also could assume more different, greater, and more mysterious forms and aspects than could a human soul. But in spite of that, human attributes were ascribed to them. They were conceived and born ; they grew up and were nurtured ; they performed their toilet and dressed ; they married and were given in marriage ; they suffered and died and had their tombs just like men. They were considered finite, imperfect, corporeal and endowed with virtues and vices even as men were ; and they were capable of being cajoled and coerced, cheated and deceived ; and though invisible, they were capable of appearing to men. In short, the ancient Egyptians made their gods in their own image, but endowed them with superhuman powers.[35] Deities were great

[35] As early as the sixth century before our era Xenophanes said " mortal man made gods in his own image ". Indeed, mortal man believed immortal gods lived with him upon the earth. They were men like himself, only more powerful, wiser, and endowed with mysterious attributes, which caused men to fear, love, and worship them. Thus, the ancient Egyptians, as well as the Babylonians, believed that their gods lived in families, or groups, especially triads. In Egypt the triad, or family, Osiris, Isis, Horus corresponded to the Babylonian triad, Šamaš, Sin, Ištar ; and there were pairs of gods, sevenfold gods and enneads. There were thinkers in both countries who approached, but never quite attained,

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or small in proportion to the greatness of their worshippers, and were subject to the changes and chances of this mortal life. The society and life of the gods were a reflection of human life and society. The first kings were gods ; indeed, the gods knew the world before men were created, and they revealed to man all knowledge of living and of civilization. But the idea of god in ancient Egypt never reached great heights.[36] The Egyptians lacked the philosophical equipment. Their idea of god lacked metaphysical and poetic imagination, although it was pragmatic and corresponded to the truth as they knew and understood it.

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the idea of monotheism, such as the worshippers of Aton or Amūn in Egypt, and those of Marduk or Ashur in Mesopotamia. And the attributes of numerous Egyptian deities correspond in great detail to those of the deities of Babylonia, such as those of Hathor and Istar, Rēᶜ and Šamaš, Horus and Ninib. In the realm of theology, the most marked difference between these two ancient, cultured peoples was in respect to animal worship, although it was not entirely unknown in Babylonia. But in both lands the deification of kings and other human beings was known—in Egypt all sovereigns were deified, in Babylonia only certain ones ; in Egypt some other human beings, such as, Imhotep and Amenophis were made gods ; but in Babylonia there was no hero-worship. Even Gilgamesh was never worshipped. However, as is natural to expect, both in Egypt and Babylonia, the worship of the heavenly bodies was ancient and fundamental.

[36] Indeed, Classical writers, such as Antiphanes, Anaxandrides, Juvenal, etc., took great pleasure in ridiculing the Egyptians who worshipped animals, fish, and vegetables.

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CHAPTER XIX

DEATH AND THE FUTURE

ANCIENT Egyptian conceptions of the future were pretty well formulated by the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, and after the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty no essential changes in them were made. As in everything else, the Egyptians were very conservative, and often retained an older idea even when it was in conflict with the recently acquired conception. This was especially true in eschatology, where, for example, no inconsistency seems to have been felt in locating the soul in the sky and at the same time with the deceased in the tomb.[1]

There is no field of thought in which the ancient Egyptians were more occupied than that of eschatology. A very large percentage of all extant Egyptian literature concerns death and the future. And long before the invention of writing, graves of the Neolithic Age, at Merimde-Benisalâme, reveal the fact that grain was buried with the dead, apparently for his use in a future state of existence ; then after that, but still long before the beginning of the historic period, during the Aeneolithic Period, at Naqâda and el-Amra, archaeological finds reveal another fact about early ideas of death and the future, namely, that offerings were made for the dead and that there was a fixed ritual for doing so ; and then the royal tombs of the first few dynasties are full of evidence, including the earliest crude and simple, but often enlightening, writings.[2] By the time of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, century-old ideas and customs about death and the future had been collected and recorded for all time in the form of the Pyramid Texts. Due to editorial activity there are preserved in these texts two great systems of thought about life beyond the grave—one a heavenly life, and the other an underworld life, the original form of the texts dealing with the former, and the editorialized form dealing with the latter, with a generous harmonization, mixture, and confusion of both. During the period, between the end of the Old Kingdom and before the beginning of

[1] Davies Puy, II, 21, n. 1.

[2] See for references to the findings of predynastic and early dynastic archaeology in Egypt, Mercer Horus, chapters I-III.

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the New Kingdom, large portions of the Pyramid Texts, together with other religious material, were copied on the inner surfaces of coffins, which are now called Coffin Texts. After that, there arose what we call the Book of the Dead, which was made up of some early dynastic religious material, such as the Seventeenth Chapter; extracts from the Pyramid Texts; and selections from the Coffin Texts. Representing the period of these three great collections of mortuary texts, there are extant many biographies of pious nomarchs, which are full of expressions about death and the future.[3] While the earliest form of the Book of the Dead goes back to the Eighteenth Dynasty, there were later, and considerably changed, editions, such as the Saite recension of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and the Graeco-Roman edition, when the contents of the book became more or less stereotyped. The Book of the Dead belongs to the cult of Osiris; but there were introduced into it at a comparatively early period ideas about the heaven and boat of the sun-god. The Coffin Texts contain what has been called the Book of the Two Ways,[4] the object of which was to provide the souls of the dead with a guide to the Dwat, where Osiris lived and ruled over the blessed dead, and which could be reached either by water or by land. Sections of the text are often accompanied by coloured vignettes, which serve as maps of the various regions of the other world.

Another mortuary text, which has much in common with the Book of the Two Ways, is called the Book of Am Dwat, or the Book of that which is in the Underworld, describing the sections of the underworld and their inhabitants. It gives an account of the nightly journey of the sun through the underworld, and has to do with both cults, that of Rē^{c} and that of Osiris. The most complete copy of it is in the tomb of Seti I at Thebes; but it exists in part in other royal graves of the New Kingdom.[5] Another famous mortuary text is that called the Book of Gates, which is very much like the Book of Am Dwat, but the descriptions are made from the point of view of the cult of Osiris rather than, as in Am Dwat, from that of the cult of Amūn-Rē^{c}. Perhaps the best copy of it is that on the sarcophagus of Seti I in the Soane Museum in London.[6] Other

[3] See BAR, *passim*.

[4] Schack-Schackenburg, *Das Buch von den Zwei Wegen des Seligen Toten*, Leipzig, 1903.

[5] See for text and translation, Budge HH.

[6] For text and translation see Budge HH, II; cf. Maystre et Piankoff, *Le Livre des Portes*, I, Texte (Mémoires, 74), Le Caire, 1939.

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mortuary texts are the Book of Apophis, which describes the enemy of the sun-god, in the form of a huge serpent, lying in wait near the portals of dawn to swallow the sun as he arose ; the Book " May my Name Flourish ", a spell to make the name of the deceased flourish eternally in heaven and on earth ;[7] the Book of the Opening the Mouth ;[8] the Book of Breathings and the Book of Traversing Eternity.[9] These and many other sources[10] provide the material on the basis of which a brief reconstruction of the ancient Egyptian ideas about death and the future may be made.[11]

As we have already seen, the very earliest Egyptians believed that each individual had a soul or spirit, which ordinarily was invisible, but which often assumed the form of a bird.[12] It was sometimes represented as the *ba*-bird with a human head, and was called a *ba* (*b3*). The *ba* with the body, *het* (*ḥ.t*) made an individual. Both were ordinarily believed to have come into being at birth.[13] Besides these two aspects of a personality, they believed there was a third, which they called a *ka* (*k3*). Steindorff makes this term equivalent to the English " guardian spirit " (" Schutzgeist ") ; Erman equates it with " vital power " (Lebenskraft) ; Maspero calls it a " double ". The following seems to be in brief what in general the ancient Egyptians said about a *ka* : It came into being at the same time as the individual ; it was corporeal ; it was not an element of the personality ; an individual was said to go to his *ka* (PT 826, 1431, etc.) in the hereafter, a phrase which became a euphemism for " to die " ; the *ka* was imperishable in heaven ; the *ka* guided and protected one in the hereafter ; the mortuary priest was often called the servant of the *ka*. These and other characteristics of the *ka* lead one to look upon the idea of the *ka* as that of a divinity personified and objectified as a double, whose home from the beginning was in the other world. When the individual died, his body lay in the grave, and his *ba* went then to the other world to unite itself with its *ka*. Besides these three main elements composing the individual, there were other terms used

[7] Lieblein, *Le Livre égyptien, Que mon nom fleurisse*, Leipzig, 1895, *passim*.

[8] Budge OM ; see also below in the chapter.

[9] Two very late forms of the Book of the Dead.

[10] E.g. Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, London, 1928.

[11] Cf. Kees, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Aegypter*, Leipzig, 1926 ; Sander-Hansen, *Der Begriff des Todes bei den Aegyptern*, København, 1942.

[12] See also above in chapter II, pp. 57 ff.

[13] The *ba* was probably not represented objectively until after the death of the individual.

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in reference to aspects of him. They have already been enumerated in chapter II. These various expressions may have been nothing more than epithets, extremely objectified by a people accustomed to expressing themselves in an objective way by means of a picture script ; and some of them were quite materialistic, used both literally and figuratively.

The average Egyptian hated death, as the popular gravestone formula put it, " O ye who love life and hate death ", and he feared the evil powers connected with it, but he recognized it as the means of the assumption of another form of life just as material, in its way, as this life. But, in order to preserve the relationship between his soul (*ba*) and his double (*ka*), in the world beyond the grave, he considered it very necessary to keep the body (*ḥ.t*) as complete and as perfect as possible. There is evidence that this was the feeling already in prehistoric days. This anxiety to preserve the human body was established not later than the Second Dynasty,[14] and took the form of mummification, for a number of tombs of that dynasty contained bodies that have been bandaged in mummy fashion.

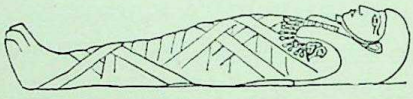

Fig. 96
MUMMY

The ceremony of mummification grew to be an elaborate imitation of what had been done to Osiris, when Anubis was supposed to have reassembled the dismembered body of Osiris, assisted by Isis and Nephthys. Osiris was brought back to life, and then established his everlasting kingdom in the underworld. In imitation of Osiris, all men could obtain life after death by undergoing the same rites of mummification. Whether or not, in this ceremony, the body of the individual to be mummified was purposely dismembered, in imitation of Osiris, cannot yet be decided. The discovery of what appeared to be partly dismembered bodies, inside untouched linen wrappings at, for example, Deshasheh[15] would suggest that. But revolt against such an act of ritual, if it ever really existed, soon put an end to it. In the case of a king or other important person, the ceremony of embalming and mummification seems to

[14] Perhaps as early as the First Dynasty (JEA, I (1914), 192).
[15] Petrie, *Deshasheh*, London, 1898, *passim*.

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have followed a fairly set form, of which the following is a brief outline : The deceased was taken to the house of purification, where the corpse was sprinkled with water,[16] and incense offered ; the *sem*-priest vested then appeared ; on the first day of embalming an

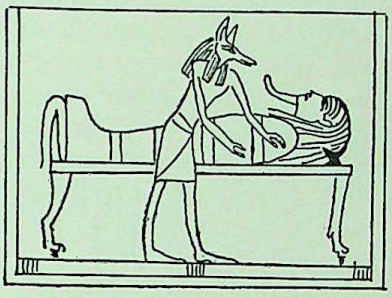

Fig. 97
EMBALMING

ox was cut up and offered ; then the ceremony of Opening the Mouth ;[17] finally the mummy was anointed, censed, given his head-cloth, clothed in bandages, and given his staff and flail.[18] In some important cases the embalming with its ceremonies lasted seventy days.[19]

The manner of burial varied from time to time in the earlier period. In the oldest graves bodies have been found in a crouching position. This position was, no doubt, adopted for practical purposes. The corpse lay on its left side,[20] usually with the head north, though sometimes south. By the time of the Pyramid Texts, the correct position was head south, facing east to receive the water of the Nile (1002-3), and, no doubt, also to see the sun rise. On the other hand the west was the land of the dead (Urkunden, I, 9). However, according as Rē^{c} became more and more powerful, the manner of burial changed somewhat, in which the deceased was buried with head to the north, facing east. It was the bounden

[16] Cf. Blackman, in JEA, 5 (1918), 117-24 ; PT 2043, 1122.

[17] This ceremony will be described below in this chapter. In burial services it was performed on the mummy, but in mortuary or memorial services it was performed on the statue.

[18] Cf. Roeder Urkunden, 297-305.

[19] In one case, in the Fourth Dynasty, it lasted 272 days (Urkunden, I, 156-7).

[20] Either crouched or at full length, Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos, III*, London, 1913.

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duty of a son to erect a tomb for his father, and also, no doubt, to endow it. The tomb was called " the abode of peace ", (*'is.t ḥtp*), and from the beginning was prepared with the greatest of care. Tombs of kings and of the great were always large and elaborate. They usually contained many chambers—one as many as 31 (e.g. that of Mereru-ka, vizier of Pepi I)—and are called maṣṭabas[21] for

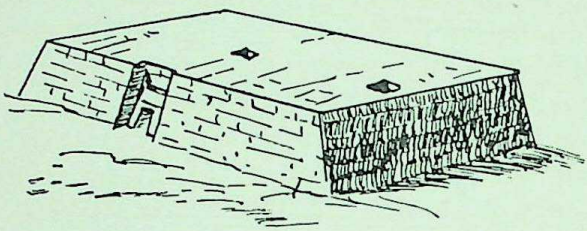

Fig. 98
A MAṢṬABA

the period of the Old Kingdom. The pyramids were royal tombs. Graves of all kinds, especially the larger ones, were elaborately decorated with scenes and texts. In some cases, statues of the deceased were kept in the tomb, or in a hidden chamber, called the serdab, or " house of the *ka* ". Tombs were often quite filled with furniture, implements, boats, and all kinds of personal belongings which the dead loved or used in this world. Sometimes tombs were carved out of the solid cliff. In some graves, more than one individual was buried ; and in some cases at Abydos there were false tombs, that is, tombs of bodies buried elsewhere, but who wanted to have a " burial place " at the sacred mortuary city of Osiris, at Abydos (for example, the great Zoser's tomb was the Step Pyramid, or Step Maṣṭaba, but he had also a false tomb at Abydos).[22] The coffin was often made in the form of a mummy, and was exceedingly elaborate, especially in later times. These coffins and graves were the happy hunting-grounds of native robbers at all periods of ancient Egyptian history, not to speak of the modern " archaeologist " of less than a century ago. Nor were elaborate tombs only for

[21] See Reisner, " The History of the Egyptian Mastaba ", Mélanges Maspero I, fasc. II, 579 ff.

[22] See for details, Erman Religion, chapters 15 and 16 ; and for a full account of the tomb, Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936.

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deceased human beings, for the sacred Apis at Saḳḳâreh, and Buchis at Hermonthis had princely eternal homes.

Funeral processions,[23] as a rule, preceded the burial rite in ancient Egypt. The deceased was drawn on a sledge from his home to the place of burial by a pair of oxen, convoyed by three men, and preceded by a lector.[24] Then come important objects to be buried with the dead ; then shrines with the canopic jars ; during all this a religious service is being recited by the priests ; then come the mourners. Before entering the prepared tomb, a meal is served ; then the ceremonial entrance into the tomb is made ; finally the chief part of the burial service begins, a ceremony which perhaps originated in Buto and thence spread over the whole of Egypt,[25] and which at first was the privilege of kings alone, but was afterwards gradually extended to local chiefs, and by the Eighteenth Dynasty became universal. This was the rite known as that of the Opening of the Mouth. The following is a brief outline of that service when used in an actual burial service as distinguished from a mortuary service (see below, in chapter XX) as it was finally stereotyped in the Eighteenth Dynasty : 1. Purification of the mummy with holy water, and fumigation with incense. 2. Slaying of a bull, one of whose forelegs was presented to the mouth of the deceased. 3. The *sem*-priest, clad in sacerdotal vestments, touched the mouth of the mummy with various magical instruments, reciting the words of the rite. 4. The mummy became

[23] A funeral service with procession of the Old Kingdom has been fully outlined, described and illustrated by Wilson in JNES, 3 (1944), 201-18 ; and one of the New Kingdom with great detail by Davies in *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rēᶜ*, 1943. There is evidence to show that sometimes at the end of the funeral service a figure, called a *tekenw*, wrapped in the skin of an animal and drawn in the procession on a sled, was offered as a sacrifice (cf. Moret, *Mystères égyptiens*, Paris, 1913, 3-102 ; Kees Totenglauben, 370 ff.).

[24] At the funeral of a king of Lower Egypt, the corpse (or statue) was transported in a boat to the ancient capital of the realm. Before returning to the necropolis of Buto, the cortège visited Sais and perhaps Heliopolis. At first the funeral procession really took place by canal and river, but later it was simulated. Since the time of the Old Kingdom, the rite was assumed also by ordinary individuals, in the necropolis of Memphis. Since the end of the Fifth Dynasty, the pilgrimage rites became Osirian, at the sacred city of Abydos. In later times the early form of the ritual became corrupt and confused (cf. Junker, " Der Tanz der *Mww* und das Butische Begräbnis im Alten Reich ", *Mitteilungen d. Deutschen Inst. f. Aegy. Altertumskunde in Kairo*, Bd. 9, Hft. I (1940), 1-39. The *mww* were the deceased kings of Buto who came to the entrance of the necropolis to welcome, with a ritual dance, the funeral of their successors.

[25] Cf. Sethe Urgeschichte, 184.

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a living being again. 5. Ceremonial toilet. 6. Sacred meal for the re-vivified as well as for the living. 7. After the meal, acts of mourning were performed, which were really ceremonies of farewell. 8. Finally, the coffin was put into its appointed place.[26] The purpose of the rite was to restore the dead to his ordinary faculties; to enable the *ba* and *ka* to continue their normal existence; to enable the deceased, now re-vivified, to utter right words; and to make him alive again. It was, thus, also a rite of resurrection and immortality.[27] This rite as well as that of mummification, and the daily mortuary rite, was based upon the ceremonial toilet of the king, performed daily at dawn in the so-called House of the Morning, before he entered the temple to officiate as high priest. This toilet in turn was based upon the lustrations which Rē^{c} was supposed to perform before he arose each morning in the east.

Mortuary chapels were attached to tombs and endowed as early as the First Dynasty. They were at first royal chapels and chapels of the nobles; but by the time of the Empire, private individuals, who could afford it are known to have had them. They were places where the individual might worship during his lifetime, and where offerings might be made to him after his death, for he needed food and drink in the next world just as the gods did. It was the duty of the son to provide for his father in the other world, so that tombs were endowed, and the deceased was liberally provided with weapons, ornaments, clothing, toilet articles, vases, cult-objects, amulets, scarabs, ushabtiu, statues, food, wine, beer, and all things considered efficacious in securing comfort, pleasure, and happiness for the dead.[28] The canopic jars containing the preserved entrails of the deceased were always in the tombs, guarded by four funerary genii, children of Horus. Through a

[26] Cf. Moret Rituel, 147 ff.; Virey, *Rekhmara* (Mém. Miss., V); Jéquier Dict., 160 ff.; JEA, 2 (1915), 8; Gîza, II, 62; Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt*, London, 1915, 48, 56, 117; Budge OM, *passim*; Schiaparelli, *Libro dei Funerali*, 2 vols., Rome, 1882-1890; Herod., II, 85; and below in chapter XX. A detailed description of a funeral procession and burial service of the time of the Old Kingdom may be found in Klebs Reliefs, I, 40-4; cf. BD (Budge), p. 39 f. See also note 23 above.

[27] Cf. PT 370-5; the word used to describe the accomplishment of this ceremony was *śȝḫ.w*, "to spiritualize", or "sanctify", from *ȝḫ*, "spirit", or "the blessed (dead)". A text of the Ptolemaic period represents Horus immortalizing Osiris by washing him in the sea (Junker Stundenwachen, 108).

[28] Cf. ARW, 32, 183 ff.; Giza, III, 98 ff., 180 ff., 208 ff.; Erman Religion, 255.

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"false-door'[29] in the tomb the soul (*ba*) of the deceased was supposed to come in order to receive the offerings according as they were made. The representations of food, drink, and other gifts, in picture form, on the walls of the tomb were thought to be capable of procuring for the deceased the objects so pictured. These elaborate funerary offerings were made in accordance with strict rites,[30] with an ordered liturgy. An idea of the ritual and liturgy of the service of funerary offerings may be obtained from Budge's edition, *The Liturgy of Funerary Offerings*, London, 1909, which contains ritualistic and liturgical material as early as the Fifth Dynasty, and some as late as the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.[31] But the general outline of the service was in existence long before the end of the Old Kingdom. This liturgy is that which was commonly said for royalty and nobility. As the poor man had a poor grave, and was sometimes embalmed, but more often not, so it is very questionable how much of a liturgical rite accompanied funerary offerings for his benefit.

The most primitive Egyptians, long before the rise of the dynasties, buried their dead. Of that fact there is abundant evidence. As a corollary to that, they believed that the soul of the dead and buried body had its home in the ground or in a subterranean world. The souls of the dead haunted the desert, but their home was an underworld. There they existed with similar needs and desires as they had before the body died. After that, but still in prehistoric times a new and different idea of the future arose and developed—an idea that when a man died his soul, leaving the body in the grave, flew up to the sky, to heaven, as a bird ; and there it met its own double. That is, it was believed that a man was like the gods, who could be in heaven and on earth at the same time ; although in different forms. The double (being a double) had a soul, and a body—though different in nature, being

[29] Cf. Scharff, in Griffith Studies, 353 ; there is evidence which seems to show that it was also believed that the soul could pass to heaven through a perpendicular hole in the burial chamber (Chronique, Nos. 39 and 40 (1945), 78). Cf. also Junker Gîza, II, pp. 4 ff.

[30] Although the term *'imaḫ* seems to have been used, especially in the Pyramid Texts, to designate an alimentary obligation on the part of the deceased pharaoh to gods as well as to his followers (cf. Vandier Rel. Eg., p. 115 ; Garnot, *L'Imakh et les Imakhous*, Melun, 1943, pp. 13 ff.), it seems very clear, for example, from a Twelfth Dynasty text that the same term also referred to any deceased person who had received proper burial (cf. Chronique, No. 32, p. 194, and n. 2).

[31] Cf. Bibl. Egypt, II, 283-324.

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spiritual, like the body of a god. The individual's soul (*ba*),[32] on reaching heaven became the "external soul".[33] of his own double (*ka*). That is, the individual in heaven consisted of a spiritualized body with its own soul plus the "external soul", which on earth was the soul (*ba*) of the human body. This heavenly *ka* or *ka* as *aḫu*, and the earthly *ba*, as we shall see later, were in heaven a god. The soul alone (that is, the "external soul", the *ba*) could visit the tomb, and usually it did so in the form of a bird, or of a human-headed bird. This is the solar (in opposition to the underworld) kingdom of the dead, which at first was thought to have been confined to royalty; later to royalty and its court; but by the time of the Middle Kingdom it was open to all men. The great lord and king of the underworld was Osiris; he of the solar kingdom was Rē^{c}. The hereafter depicted in the Pyramid Texts is almost entirely the latter; although Osirian and solar ideas, in other respects, were mingled and often harmonized.

Offerings found in the predynastic tombs of ancient Egypt prove that the people believed in an existence after death—a living existence not of the body which they could see lying inert and dead, but of that other part, which the primitive Egyptian, like all other primitive peoples, came by experience to believe, could exist apart from the body, and long after the body was dead. The other part could be seen, but usually was invisible; it could be made immortal by rites, such as that by which the mouth and eyes were opened (see above in this chapter, also below in the chapter on Worship); and it and its double could be kept immortal by offerings, such as food and drink, made, if possible, at the burial place of the body. The other part, or soul (*ba*), strictly speaking, was not considered imperishable or immortal in itself, but it could be made and kept so. Indeed, the Pyramid Texts have for their basic subject the task of procuring eternal life for the pharaoh in the sky, and the means whereby that could be brought about. Eternal life could be assured any *ba* by the care of its living descendants. That the Egyptian had a passionate desire for immortality is quite evident to any student of Egyptian life and literature;[34] and the means to attain it soon became quite magical and increased so more and more as time went on.[35]

[32] See also chapter II above, as well as pp. 412-14 of this chapter.
[33] Cf. ÄZ, 54 (1918), 56-64.
[34] See, for example, Reisner, *The Egyptian Conception of Immortality*, Boston, 1912.
[35] Cf. Wiedemann, in ARW, 30 (1933), 60, and n. 2.

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Just as Osiris after death became a *living* soul by receiving from his son, Horus, the latter's eye, so any individual, who had died, might become a *living* soul through sacrifices, which in memory of the deed of Horus were called the " eye of Horus ".[36] It was by sacrifices that the soul (*ba*) became " capable " and " powerful ", that is living, (PT 859). It was the soul which was revivified and kept immortal. The old, dead body (*ḥ.t*) was not resurrected. It remained in the grave. But the revivified *ba* joined the double (*ka*, or *ka* as *aḫu*) of the deceased, as an " external soul ", and the offerings made at the grave, and represented on the walls of the tomb caused both the *ba* and the *ka* (the soul and the double) to live for ever. This is the only sense in which we can speak of an Egyptian " resurrection ". The dead *ḥ.t*, in the grave, at the same time was preserved by sacrifices,[37] just as its own double in heaven was enabled to live. Strictly speaking then there was no resurrection of the material body (*ḥ.t*) ;[38] although the *aḫu* (cf. PT 350c), a spiritualized body, ascended to heaven, where it was, it seems, identical with the *ka*. Nor can the union of the *ba* with the *ka* be called re-incarnation in the modern sense of the term, for the *ka* was a double, possessing a spiritual and not a material body. But there is a sense in which the *ba*, after the death of its *ḥ.t*, may be said to have been " born again ", that is, to have experienced a " second birth ". Neither can the idea of transmigration of the soul be ascribed to ancient Egypt, as was done by Greek writers.[39] The soul could itself assume different forms, such as that of a bull, a crocodile, an ibis, a swallow, a serpent ; but it did not become the soul of any of these forms. Thus, the *ba* assumed the form of the *ba*-bird, but it was not taken to be the soul of that bird. The idea of metempsychosis can be claimed for ancient Egyptian thinkers only in a very primitive and magical sense (see below, in the chapter on Magic).

Whereas in Old Kingdom times ordinary individuals were thought to have joined their *ka* only at death,[40] the king, who was considered a god already when he was on earth, had the privilege of being with his *ka* from his birth. But on his ascension to heaven

[36] See Mercer, in JSOR, 4 (1920), 29-32.

[37] Cf. PT 9 ff., 144, 153, 1002-3, 1046-7, 1747-8, 1877-81, 1973-82.

[38] See also Budge Fetish, 326 f.

[39] E.g. Aenaeas of Gaza, in his Theophrastus (ed. Boissonade), 10 ; also Herodotus (Sourdille, *Hérodote et la Religion de l'Egypte*, Paris, 1910, chapter VIII).

[40] Middle and New Kingdom texts, however, indicate that a *ka* was born with every one (e.g. Erman Mutt u Kind, 26-7).

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(which he did in the form of a falcon, PT 250), the king was reconstructed, as it were (PT 834 ff.), beginning a new existence, as king and god in heaven (PT 370-5), and according to Heliopolitan theology, as Rēᶜ himself; but according to Osirian theology, he became an Osiris.[41] Thus, according to the harmonized theology of the Pyramid Texts the deceased king, on his arrival in heaven, became Osiris without ceasing to be Rēᶜ, and his successor on earth was the living king, Horus. According to some strands of the theology of the Pyramid Texts, the deceased king became a star, and "the Imperishable Ones" were thus the followers of either Rēᶜ or Osiris.

The Egyptians believed that the souls of all were judged after death. According to Osirian theology, each individual soul appeared before Osiris as judge. It was led into the presence of Osiris, who sat on his throne, by Anubis. Isis and Nephthys stood behind the judge. Forty-two crimes enumerated by as many accessors were denied by the soul, which was followed by the weighing of the "heart" of the individual against a feather, the

Fig. 99
WEIGHING OF THE HEART

symbol of truth. Thot acted as scribe and recorder. If the soul was condemned it was devoured by a monster who was present for that purpose; if it was justified it was allowed to pass on to the Fields of the Blessed. According to solar theology, the judge of the dead was Rēᶜ, assisted by his daughter, Maat, goddess of truth, whose symbol was the feather. But Osiris, who was the ancient

[41] From the time of the Middle Kingdom on any deceased individual could become an Osiris, and be addressed as such.

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god of the dead, was firmly established as the usual judge of the dead by the time of the Middle Kingdom, and eventually became the sole occupant of that office.[42] A study of the Osirian and solar

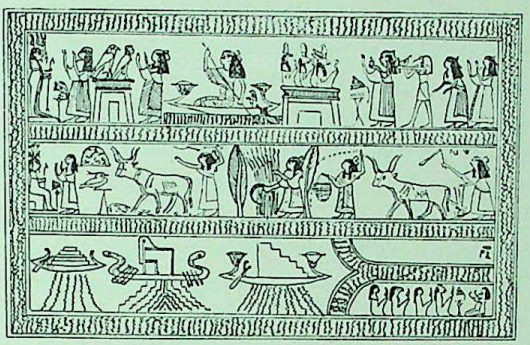

Fig. 100

FIELDS OF THE BLESSED

theory of judgment shows that already in the time of the Old Kingdom in ancient Egypt there were two supreme conditions of blessedness in the future, one of which was purity, and the other morality—purity as a physical thing and morality as a condition of righteousness and justice. Thus, just as Rē^{c}, every day, took a bath in the heavenly ocean, when he arose in the morning, just so did the deceased king (PT 519), and the cleansing was not only physical (PT 127-8), it also had a spiritual significance.[43] The second condition was a moral test, a judgment, which was operative certainly as early as the Middle Kingdom, and perhaps much earlier, when a king even had to look forward to responsibility beyond the grave for the moral quality of his earthly life. And soon it was believed that every individual soul had to meet the same moral ordeal.[44] However, with the rise of the New Kingdom began the growth of a belief in the efficacy of magic in preparation for the future judgment.

The soul which stood the judgment-test need not fear a second death (BD (Budge), pp. cxxi, cxxiii, 186, 596). He was declared

[42] See Capart, in Chronique, No. 28, 233 ff.; Spiegel, in *Mitteilungen d. Deut. Instituts für Aegy. Altertumskunde in Kairo*, Bd. 8, Hft. 2, 201 f.; Sethe, in ÄZ, 38 (1900), 54 ff.; BD (Budge), 22; RT, 31, 173.

[43] Cf. Kees Totenglauben, Kap. VI.

[44] Cf. Breasted Conscience, chapter XIV.

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m3ᶜ-ḫrw, " true of voice ", " justified " ; he came under the protection of the gods ; and was identified with Osiris, and called by his name. On the other hand, and yet like the great gods themselves, his existence was thought to have been quite materialistic. He was united with his family, enjoyed his food, had servants to work for him, and received countless benefits from endowments which, during his lifetime, he had made to the temples. And yet it was believed that there was something spiritual about all these things, for even the beer was imperishable (BD (Ani), pp. 88 f.), and the individual, as well as the gods, lived on celestial foods (BD (Budge), p. 76, and n. 1).

As we have already seen, two general ideas of the future developed in ancient Egypt. The earlier seems to have been that of a subterranean world, where Osiris reigned ; the later, a heavenly kingdom, yonder, above the sky, where Rēᶜ was lord and king. The latter was a land of no return (PT 2175), as no doubt also was the former. The hereafter of the priests of Heliopolis, depicted in the Pyramid Texts, was the heavenly kingdom which held out the prospect of a glorious hereafter, in the splendour of the sun-god's presence. The great hymn of Amūn, of a very much later period, describes this heaven to be of gold and the heavenly ocean of lapis lazuli.[45] At first it was only the king who was privileged to go to this place of happiness ; later any man could claim the right to go. Before going to the kingdom of Rēᶜ in the sky, the pharaoh had to undergo purification by water. Then he was ferried across a river, by a ferryman, called *ḥr.f-ḥ3.f*, " his face behind him ",

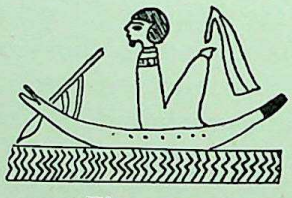

Fig. 101
THE FERRYMAN

" facing-backward " (e.g. PT 383),[46] to the eastern side of the sky, where there was a great place, field, or lake of reeds, the *śḫ.t 'iȝrw*, in which there apparently was an island (*ȝḫ.t*) ; then he started

[45] Erman Leid Amonshymnus, A 9, 3.
[46] According to PT 1092, it was the four sons of Horus who acted as ferrymen.

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for his heavenly home. Various traditions existed as to how the king got up to heaven (e.g. PT Ut. 467) : In general, Nut was thought to have been the guide (PT 756) ; then the pharaoh could fly to heaven as a falcon (PT 913, 891) ; he could go on a ramp (PT 364-5) ; he could climb on a ladder (PT 390) ;[47] he could mount on a stairway (PT 1090). Other means of going to heaven are suggested in various strands of the legend, e.g. Kebehet, daughter of Anubis, offered the king her shoulder ; Isis and Nephthys offered their hips, while Atum reached down and seized his arm ; Tefnut grasped his arm and led him into the celestial fields ; the earth lifted him up ; the ibis of Thot, the falcon of Horus, the scarab of Rē^{c}, or the grasshopper allowed him to use their wings ; the rays of the sun served as a ramp, and stretched out their arms (as a stairway ; cf. 1108, 1090) ; the smoke of incense bore him skyward ; or he ascended on a cloud, with hail, with the help of Shu, with the aid of Set, of the four sons of Horus, of the souls of Pe and of Nekhen ; or the gods of heaven, or of earth, bore him up on their arms ; or each part of the king's body had a deity to help it ; or he went directly to Rē^{c}, for he was really greater than Rē^{c} himself (PT 812-13). Then the double doors of the sky were opened to the king. Heralds announced his arrival. The gods came to meet him. He became the secretary of Rē^{c}, and served as his priest. He sailed with Rē^{c}, and served as his priest. He sailed with Rē^{c} in his boat ; he became the son of Rē^{c} ; became Rē^{c} himself ; became even greater than Rē^{c} ; and in his supreme and ferocious emotion even ate the gods (PT Ut. 273), having forcibly taken possession of the throne of the sun-god. Indeed, he became a cosmic figure superior to all gods (PT 1146, 1156) ; ate divine food (PT 484), was suckled by a goddess (PT 1118-19), and enjoyed eternal blessedness. There in heaven were living waters, where there would never be any more hunger nor thirst (PT 382), and where the king would even be provided with all means of sensual pleasures. He reigned as judge and ruler, supreme in heaven. He was alone with the gods. However, after about the Sixth Dynasty it was believed that deceased nobles also had access to heaven ; and later still all mankind, it was thought, could claim that privilege.

The Osirian future-world, as we have seen, was an underworld. It was most likely older than the solar idea of a heavenly future, but it is practically unknown in the Pyramid Texts, for they were the

[47] Cf. JEA, 18 (1932), 168.

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work of solar-priests of Heliopolis. Before, however, describing the Osirian future of early Egyptian thought, it must be carefully noted how the theologians of Heliopolis, recognizing the power and influence of Osirian theology, tried to incorporate it into their own solar system. This is clearly seen in the form of the Pyramid Texts, which has come down to us. Thus, the underworld of Osirian thought and faith was located in the sky (PT 820, 882, 1527), in the horizon (PT 151), or in the lower region of the sky (PT 390, 1014); the king was made a messenger of Osiris (PT 1195 ff.); he was identified with Horus (PT 1089-90, 1373-5); and he even became Osiris (PT Ut. 373), an identity which was said to have begun at birth; Horus became the champion of the king, as he had been of Osiris (PT Ut. 356 ff.); Osiris was said to have ascended to the sky (PT Ut. 337); Rē^{c} raised Osiris from the dead (PT 721); and Osiris was called lord of the sky (PT 964, 968). But Osiris was so powerful that the theologians of Heliopolis could not rob him, even in their own system, of his ancient rights and titles, for example, in their own Pyramid Texts the deceased was called "Osiris, lord of the Dat" (underworld of Osiris) (PT 8); the king even was called "Osiris, king Unis", etc. (PT Ut. 578-9); the imperishable stars were called the "followers of Osiris"; the sky was Osirianized; Osiris was even identified with the king's temple and pyramid; the services of the four eastern Horuses on behalf of the dead were Osirianized; the whole system of mortuary ritual in the Pyramid Texts was Osirianized; as also were the "facing-backward", who became "door-keeper of Osiris", the ladder, the ferry-boat, the reed-floats, etc. On the other hand, while the Osirian idea of the West was introduced into the Pyramid Texts, it was at the same time discouraged (PT 2175), and the solar teaching of the hereafter continued to dominate the theology of Heliopolis. Withal, a certain harmonization was consciously carried out by the redactors of the Pyramid Texts, for example, the king was identified now with Rē^{c} then with Osiris (e.g. PT Ut. 606; Ut. 422); and Rē^{c} received the deceased and presented him to Osiris.

The Osirian eschatology is to be found chiefly in four books all of which are much later than the Pyramid Texts, and all of which suffered much in periodical redaction. These books which have already been discussed in this chapter, are the *Book of the Two Ways*, the *Book of the Dead*, the *Book of Gates*, and the *Book Am Dwat*. The first is a kind of Baedeker to the Osirian underworld. It is found among the Coffin Texts, and already shows signs of the

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influence of solar theology. In fact, just as the Pyramid Texts were Osirianized to find place for the theology of Osiris in a Heliopolitan system, so all these Osirian books were more or less solarized to find place for Heliopolitan religious ideas in Osirian theology. Thus, in the Book of the Two Ways, the streams and canals which had to be crossed, the islands of the blest, the blazing fire and boiling water reflect the sea of reeds the river and island in the east which the deceased of the theology of Heliopolis had to cross on his way to heaven. But on the whole the Book of the Two Ways is Osirian. So are the Book of the Dead and the Book of Gates, but in the latter the sun-god is represented as making a nightly journey in a boat to bring light, air, and food to the inhabitants of the Dwat, or underworld of Osiris. But the central idea of it is the belief in the efficacy of sacrifices and offerings, and in the doctrine of righteous retribution—the wicked would be destroyed, and the righteous rewarded with everlasting life and happiness. The colouring and universality of this faith is characteristically Osirian. The same is true of the Book of the Dead. But the Book Am Dwat was a solarization of the Book of Gates by the priests of Amūn-Rēᶜ. Here the sun-god is also represented as entering the Dwat in the west and emerging in the east. As he passed through each section of the underworld it was temporarily illuminated and he brought air, food, and drink to the inhabitants. An accommodation between the two systems of theology comes out where it is said that those in the underworld who were found to be truthful and upright in their actions were permitted either to continue their journey with the sun-god and to live with him forever, or to remain at Abydos and to live with Osiris in his kingdom. In the Book Am Dwat solar dogmas are definitely superimposed upon the more ancient dogmas of the primitive god of the dead, Osiris.

The underworld of Osiris was in the West and not in the East. This stands to reason, for, as we have already seen, the career of Osiris as god of the dead began in prehistoric times at Abydos and Asyûṭ, which already had been connected with a cult of gods of the dead—the dead who lay in the sand and earth which stretched, underground, towards the west. There the dead lay in their subterranean world with their faces turned towards the west, a fact which archaeology has revealed.[48] There, then, long before the rise of Heliopolitan theology and the east as the sacred region of the sun-god, the idea of the underworld of Osiris, and of Osiris as

[48] See Mercer Horus, 93.

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god of the dead, arose and developed. In later times the coincidence of the sun's setting in the west and the west as the sacred region of Osiris made easy the intrusion of solar theology in the Osirian system. Thus, the river to be crossed, the field or sea of reeds, and the island in it were all introduced into Osirian theology from that of Heliopolis, for rivers, lakes, and islands had no natural place in a desert and underground system. So the Field (or sea) of Reeds (*śḫ.t 'iȝrw*) of Heliopolis became the Field of Offerings (*śḫ.t ḥtp*) of Osirian theology, the former situated in the east and the latter in the west.[49] This latter is the " Elysian Fields ", the " Fields of Peace ", of translators of the Book of the Dead.[50] The river to be crossed of solar theology became the lake of fire or boiling water of the Osirian system ;[51] and the " island of flame " of the Pyramid Texts (397) became the " island of truth " of the Book of the Dead (17, 13). But the west of Wepwawet and Anubis was transformed into the " Good West " (*'imn.t nfr.t*) of the " good god " (*nṯr nfr*), Osiris, who became the great " First of the Westerners " (*ḫnti 'imntiw*). In like manner, the ancient name of the necropolis of Memphis, Rasetaw (*rȝ-śṯȝw*), was now applied to the entrance to the underworld kingdom of Osiris.

The word for the underworld of Osiris is *dȝ.t* or *dwȝ.t*, the

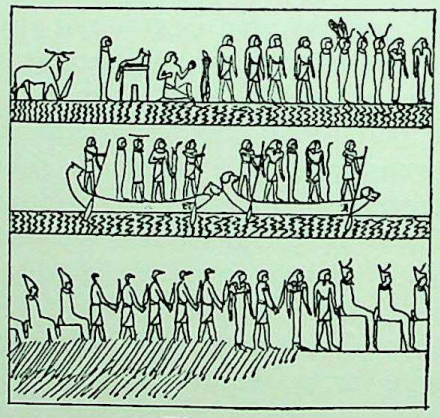

Fig. 102
THE DWAT

[49] Cf. Weill, *Le Champ des Roseaux et le Champ des Offrandes*, Paris, 1936, *passim*.

[50] In the *Contendings* a contrast is made between the *śḫ.t 'iȝrw* and the nether-world of the west—the latter as a place of exile for the wicked (15, 6 and n. 4, p. 25 and p. 24).

[51] BD (Budge), chapter 126 with vignette. This appears very much later in a Coptic apocrypha as a " river of fire " or a " lake of fire " (*Orientalia*, N. S. 7 (1938), 359-61) ; and still later in other Christian elements of eschatology.

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former being the older.[52] In the Pyramid Texts its use has been confused by the solar theologians, who made it refer either to heaven in general (e.g. 390, 802, 1717, 282, 953, 1301, 1734), to the eastern part of heaven (e.g. 1530, 2170), or to the underworld in an indefinite way (e.g. 882, 1014, 306, 5, 1986, 1973, 1172). From the time of the Middle Kingdom on it was used as the regular word for the underworld realm of Osiris. Besides the word Dwat, many others were used as epithets of the Osirian underworld kingdom. It was called *'imn.t*, " the west " ; *ḥr.t-nṯr*, " the kingdom of the dead " ; *'igr.t*, " the underworld " ; *ḳbḥw*, " place of cool water " ; *ḏśr.t*, " the holy land " ; *t3-ᶜnḫ*, " the land of life " ; and also, it seems, *ṯnn.t*, the " uplifted place " (cf. Holmberg Ptah, p. 218). The lord of the Dwat was Osiris (PT 8), whose function was the passive one (cf. PT Ut. 559) of sitting on his throne to receive the deceased who were led into his presence by Horus, his son, and sometimes by the ancient god of the dead, Anubis.

The Dwat was a kind of duplicate of Egypt—there was an Upper and a Lower Dwat (RT, 27, 218, ll. 47, 52), and it had a great river running through it on which went the boat of the sun-god. According to one tradition preserved in the Book of the Dead (chapter 144) there were in the Dwat seven halls or Arits (*ᶜrri.t*, *ᶜrrw.t*) according to another (chapter 146) there were twenty-one (or, ten to fifteen) pylons ; and according to a third (chapters 149 and 150) there were fourteen or fifteen Iats (*'i3.t*), states or divisions. Another tradition, preserved in the Book of Gates, tells of twelve parts or gates ; and in the Book Am Dwat the parts of the Dwat are called hours, of which there are twelve, representing the time taken by the sun-god to journey through the Dwat. A general designation of the Dwat or a part of it, appearing for the first time in the Middle Kingdom, was the *r3-śṯ3w*, which seems as a rule to have referred to the entrance to the underworld. The judgment hall of Osiris, not mentioned in the Book Am Dwat, was placed, according to the Book of the Dead, between the fifth and the sixth divisions, and there the deceased was declared guilty and to be punished and destroyed, or justified, and to dwell with Osiris and become one with him. In the Dwat, besides Osiris, and the sun-god, who, according to solar redactors, passed through the Dwat, the subterranean kingdom of Osiris, every night, were Horus and Isis ; Wepwawet, Anubis, and Soker ; gods of the dead in general ; and special underworld

[52] See S. Hassan, *Excavations at Gîza*, Vol. VI, Pt. I, Cairo, 1946, *passim* ; AE, 1914, II, 73, No. 59.

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deities, such as Abesh, Nukara, and many others, as well as demons, and perhaps Set was to be found there, for an underworld demon is represented as two-headed, one of Horus and the other of Set, and as Horus was generally connected with heaven so Set was with the earth and perhaps also the underworld (e.g. PT 518, cf. 1985, 1295, 2011, 1364, 390).[53] It is possible, however, that Set's association with the Dwat may be due to redaction which saw a connection between Set, who was a desert god as well as a god of evil repute, and the underworld which was thought to begin at the other side of the great western desert and where demons and evil creatures were reputed to lie in wait for the sun-god during his nightly voyage.

In the older portions of the Coffin Texts, the Osirian idea of the future world was not yet as important as the Heliopolitan, but theories about the dead were becoming more and more general, and it was not long before the popular appeal in the Osirian doctrine made itself felt. The " west " soon became as important, generally, as the " sky ", although the adherents of solar theology did all in their power to spread fear of the " terrible kingdom of the dead ". The great cults inter-penetrated each other, for example, according to Osirian doctrine the deceased must take care that all of his parts be gathered together in the underworld for the " coming forth by day " ; while, according to solar theology, he must take care of his daily toilet like the sun-god. And each system made more and more use of magic sayings, prayers, myths, hymns, and rituals, and appealed more and more consistently to Ḥeka, god of magic, to compel the other gods to do the bidding of the dead. Before the end of the Middle Kingdom, however, Osiris and his creed had already caught the imagination of the people : popular morality was connected with the good being (*wn-nfr*), Osiris ; the journey to heaven in the boat of the sun was turned into a symbol of going to the underworld ; there was a tendency to stress the " west " and mistrust the " east " ; great emphasis was placed on Osiris and his conflict with the evil enemy ; the comparison between the resurrection of the dead and the daily rising of the sun was taken over by Osiris ; people became concerned about the relationship between goodness here and its bearing upon the future life ; and to stem the tide of the popularity of Osiris, royal texts of a solar type were adapted for the common people. From the time of the Middle Kingdom on the Osirian doctrine of the future became more

[53] Kees Horus und Seth, I, 45, and n. 1.

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and more popular. There was a temporary revival of the solar dogma in Thebes during the Eighteenth Dynasty and again after the future-less teaching of Atonism. But neither the dogma of Amūn of Thebes nor the teaching of Aton of Akhetaton could impede the ever-growing strength of the doctrine of Osiris of Abydos, until finally all Egyptian eschatology was Osirianized. A comparison between, especially, the Theban recension of the Book of the Dead, the Saite recension, and the Book of the Dead of the Roman Period[54] shows that from the time of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty, at the latest, down to the end of ancient Egyptian religious thought the Osirian doctrine of the future life remained changeless.[55]

[54] See Lieblein, *op. cit.*

[55] In Egypt the future, both the Osirian and Solar, was an extravagant and optimistic projection of joys known on earth, necessarily, in such an uncharted realm, with lack of logic, exaggeration, impossible assertions, extravagant expressions and irreconcilable statements; while in Babylonia it consisted in a focussing of all earthly discomforts and woes.

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CHAPTER XX

WORSHIP

IF worship be the act of paying divine honours to a deity there must be numerous ways to do it. Even the utterance of the name of a deity, of his attributes, his titles can constitute worship, if uttered in respect and reverence. But if it be true that in early religions doctrine is at a minimum while practice is at a maximum, we shall expect to find in ancient Egyptian worship an abundance of outward rites and ceremonies—so much so that the dividing line between what we call worship and what we call magic is sometimes very difficult to detect. And as to the deity—the object of divine honours—we shall find that the ancient Egyptian had no fixed formula by which he could determine clearly what constituted a deity and what did not. And in our attempt to make a distinction for our own use we shall find ourselves in the presence of many difficulties. We have already gone into this matter in Chapter XVIII, but it may be worth while here to repeat that when studying the attitude of the ancient Egyptian towards an external object in divine worship—for it was difficult for him to think of an abstract deity—we should remember that the more intelligent Egyptian most likely worshipped the deity which was *in*, or inhabited, the cult image ; while to the less, perhaps the bulk of the people, the image was practically the god himself. This holds true no matter what form the cult object may have taken—the form of a man, of a living creature, of a combination of both, or of an inanimate object. We should also remember, in our attempt to understand the worship of ancient Egypt, that its history was long, that while there were two great cults there were also numerous local ones, and that, consequently, there was never developed—nor perhaps could there ever be—one co-ordinated system of worship. Ancient Egyptian worship embraced the cults of numerous deities, with multifarious developments and differences, controlled and governed by numberless local rather than by national considerations and conditions.

Men are naturally religious ; and that was particularly true of the ancient Egyptians. They loved to associate with their gods. They desired intimate relationship with them. Ordinarily they

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felt no need of mediation, except that the pharaoh, divine as well as human, represented them officially in divine worship. Therefore, they never developed any messianic ideas, notwithstanding the so-called " messianic passage " in the Pap Golénischeff (*The Prophecy of Neferrohu*) and the so-called messianism in the Pap Leiden 344 (*Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*). Nor did they feel the need of atonement, for they at first, at any rate, possessed no consciousness of the sinfulness of imperfection or even of wrong, in the presence of their gods, for their gods were not without their own wrongs and imperfections. They were conscious of crime in their gods as well as in themselves. But they adored their gods, and they sought to please them, and in doing so they wanted to learn what the will and pleasure of the gods were. So they appealed to oracles, dreams, prayers, gifts, and magic. But their adoration and worship was expressed in public and official acts. Every town, or community, had, no doubt, its " house of the god ", its temple or shrine, served by priests who represented the pharaoh, the only *real* priest, with its objective representation of the community's god or group of deities. There worship developed in a certain general uniform way, with lustrations, offerings, prayers, dancing, singing, music, processions. There they celebrated on many occasions, often daily, and especially on the feasts and festivals of their deities. There in the temple was a special place for the symbol or image of at least the chief god, accompanied by an altar for offerings and gifts. In the midst of all this local worship, from prehistoric times, towered the temples ; and there were rites of the two great cults, that of Rē^{c} and that of Osiris. Primarily and down till roughly about 2000 B.C. these two great cults existed only for royalty ; and the former never actually altered its basic quality. It remained always aristocratic. But from the first, the cult of Osiris was democratically bent. So that, at the latest, by the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, the admission of the masses to the full religious rights of the royal worship of Osiris was recognized. The Osirian rite now became general and his mysteries the property of all. Accordingly, all claimed that in the next world they would be justified, and each would become an Osiris (i.e. by equivalence, and not by absorption nor in function). Osiris now gave to all sustenance, fecundity, and a promise of eternal life with him in his divine kingdom. And about the same time a similar change took place in the cult of Rē^{c}, all men then obtained the privilege of appearing before the tribunal of Rē^{c}, of a " royal death ", of being " justified ",

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and of becoming immortal as a god—privileges which were now no longer those of a select few, but within the rights of each and every one. However, of the two great cults, which existed side by side, in mostly friendly competition, that of Osiris had the larger, warmer, and more human appeal; while that of Rē^{c} always retained its grandeur and its official and royal appeal.

Besides these two great rites, there were many others the details of whose temples and services are fairly well known; for example, the cult of Horus[1] was not only one of the oldest in Egypt but also was celebrated all over the land; that of Amūn, though comparatively short lived, attained higher political power, and he was worshipped with greater pomp and circumstance than any other Egyptian deity; and that of the Aton,[2] though still shorter lived than that of Amūn, approached nearer to a modern conception of divine service than that of any other Egyptian god. Besides the greater cults, there were those of all kinds of minor deities—deified living creatures, inanimate objects, and ideas, deified human beings, the deceased king, and in general all dead who had been justified in the sky, or Osirianized in the underworld. In some temples many different deities were worshipped, while some had no particular shrine at all, such as, for example, Maat, Ḥu, Ḥapi.

The beginning of the Egyptian priesthood goes back to the very earliest times. Indeed, the origin of the priest is perhaps as early as that of the idea of god, for the very idea of god implies relationship—a relationship between him and man whose idea god is. That is, the first man to have an idea of god, or, to put it rather crudely, the inventor or originator of the idea of god was a priest. At any rate, already in the earliest Egyptian writing priests are mentioned,[3] and it was not very long before dozens of various priesthoods had come into being.[4] As gods were numerous so were priests, and there are extant hundreds of names of priestly individuals. They represented all classes of society, but usually the upper classes, some of them being of royal blood, and at all times, especially at first, they were the learned class, the teachers and scholars of their age. They married, and their children often followed their calling, so that the priesthood always tended to become hereditary. It was, for example, the wife of a priest of Rē^{c}

[1] See Mercer Horus, chapter X.
[2] See above, chapter IX.
[3] AE, 1914, II, 75, Nos. 65-6.
[4] Petrie History, I, 45, and *passim*; Pirenne Histoire, 313.

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who was said to have given birth to three sons, by Rē^{c}, who became the first three kings of the Fifth Dynasty.[5] Priests were attached to specific kings, temples, tombs, and derived their income from these sources, as well as from daily and incidental offerings. They were often pluralists, for specific salaries were small, and by the end of the Sixth Dynasty they had acquired important exemptions, and did so as a class, or caste, useful, indispensable, and powerful in society. A priest usually was appointed. He could also be chosen or elected,[6] and was duly ordained,[7] after having been purified, crowned, conducted to the sanctuary, which he was to serve (inducted), embraced by the god, and fed with sacred food (taken " communion ").[8]

The priest was, in origin, the " first man ", the chieftain, the king, the magician, the friend and representative of the god, *the* person (" parson "). As a professional person, his first duty was to serve his god, to bathe, dress, and feed him. His second duty was to his fellow-men. He not only stood between them and god, as their representative and mouth-piece, but he was their physician (medicine man)—he served them bodily as well as spiritually. Thus, the priest (*w^{c}b*) was at the same time a physician (*swnw*). And being at first the only learned class, the priesthood assumed many other duties in addition to those of their sacred office. Already in the Old Kingdom, the priest as a rule was a high official of the state, often a magistrate, and as such holding that office often by virtue of heredity, and sometimes as royal secretary or secretary of state. In their capacity as priests, they were always exempt from forced labour, taxation and imposts, and poll-tax, and they held the right of asylum. In short, priestly duties and privileges were numerous.[9]

As the first priest was the father of the family, or chief of the tribe, so the king was a priest. In Egypt, ancient land of conservatism, there was only one real priest, the king. All other priests, in reality, were mere deputies, or representatives, vicars of the king. The king was the priest in every temple, to every god. But as he could not officiate in every temple at once, he was represented by the local vicar. He was supposed to officiate as priest every day,

5 Petrie History, I, 69.
6 Cf. JEA, 19 (1933), 38 ff.
7 Cf. Erman Religion, 189 f.
8 Moret Rituel, p. 26, and pl. I.
9 Cf. Moret Nile, 387, 399 ff.

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either in person or as representative. Even the deceased king was still a priest (PT 1179). As the king was the son of his god, so the priest, the king's proxy, was also son of his god ; and as the king represented god, so did the priest, who often impersonated a god, as he did, for example, in funerary ceremonies where he represented Horus and what Horus had done for his father, Osiris, or where a priestess represented Hathor, or Isis.

The general term for " priest " is wab (*wᶜb*), meaning a "clean" or " pure " person. Of the many classes or orders of priests, there were two main ones, the *ḥm-nṯr* or superior priest, often translated " prophet " ; and the *wᶜb* or inferior priest. Great temples, as early as the Old Kingdom, had large and well-organized staffs of priests and priestesses. In the temples of Rēᶜ, for example, there were five orders of priests, the *ḥm-nṯr*, " prophet ", in five different grades ; the *śḫm.t ḥm-nṯr*, " chief prophet " ; the *wḏ ḥm-nṯr*, " deputy prophet " ; the *wᶜb*, " priest " ; and the *wḏ wᶜb*, " deputy priest ".[10] These numerous priests had not only religious functions, but administrative, educational, and other civil duties as well. There were also mortuary priests, a subject which will be treated more fully below.

Titles were numerous,[11] as has always been the case with the priesthood, especially the higher members of the hierarchy and academic priests. Thus, the great philosopher-priest, Ptah-hotep, held as many titles and " degrees " as the clerical head of a famous college or university in modern days. There were many chief priests ; no doubt there was one of each important deity, one for each great city, and perhaps one for each temple. A chief priest usually bore the title *mr ḥm-nṯr*,[12] and a superintendent of chief priests, a kind of "archbishop" usually had the title *'imi-r3 ḥm. w-nṯr*. The supreme head or " pope " of all was the king. And any priest could be called *'itf nṯr*, " father of god ", or " holy father ". Beside the above titles there were many others, most important of which were : the *śm*-priest, usually the title of a chief priest ;[13] the *ḫri-ḥb*-priest, a learned class, kind of " Reverend Professor ",

[10] Sethe, in ÄZ, 27 (1889), 111 ff. ; cf. Shorter, *Everyday Life in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1932, 74.

[11] Cf. Budge Gods, I, 101 ; Erman-Ranke Aeg., Kap. XII ; Erman Religion, 187-8 ; Petrie Abydos, II, xviii.

[12] Sometimes *wr-ḫrp* (Urkunden, I, 18).

[13] Reciter of the famous liturgical phrase, " An offering which the king gives." He wore a distinctive dress, the leopard-skin, and kept his head clean-shaven (cf. JEA, 26 (1941), 37).

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sometimes translated " lector-priest ", and " ritual-priest ", of whom the famous Sheikh el Beled was a chief; the *'imi-ḫnt*, another class of lector-priests, or " public orators " ; the *rḫ-'iḫ.t*, priests who were learned in the rites, that is, " liturgiologists " ; and *k3*-priests, who were in charge of mortuary rites and services. The full title of *k3*-priests was *ḥm-k3* (Urkunden, I, 11, 11) ; and as embalmer and undertaker, they impersonated Anubis. Their duty was to say a kind of mortuary-grace over the table of offerings.

Priestesses were always common in ancient Egypt, the wife

Fig. 103
A PRIESTESS

of a priest being often a priestess ; and were frequently members of important families (Urkunden, II, 150 ff.). There were many chief priestesses ; indeed they appear to have had different grades just as priests. The priestess as " god's wife "[14] was, no doubt, a solar institution, who was always associated, as chief priestess with Hathor, wife of Rē^{c}, indeed Hathor was almost always served by priestesses rather than priests.[15] Priestesses usually bore the title *mr.t* and as such were connected with sacred music, their function being to sing and play the cistrum and impersonate the goddess

[14] This title became that of a regular institution, which from first to last was chiefly political. Its function was to give a religious colouring to the marriage of " church " and state (cf. Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, København, 1940, especially pp. 13-15 and 51).

[15] This is also true of Neit, especially during the Old Kingdom, and of Wepwawet also of the same period.

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Hathor. This title occurs as early as the Fourth Dynasty.[16] Priestesses of Hathor bore the title " confidential royal favourite " (Denderah, 48 f.), and those of royal blood in Thebes usually had three titles, " wife of god ", " worshipper of god ", and " hand of god ". The title " hand of god " is so closely bound up with the idea of divine procreation[17] that " priestesses " in ancient Egypt have often been thought synonymous with " concubines ", as concubines of god ; but the earliest mention of a god's concubine does not occur, at the earliest, before the Ninth or Tenth Dynasty,[18] hundreds of years after the first mention of priestesses. Priestesses had functions other than that of music, although they were limited. They could pour libations, make offerings, and perform mortuary rites. They had to undergo the same rite of purification as priests, and they received stipends, and sometimes gifts.

All gods and goddesses had their priesthoods, and some of them were very elaborate, such as those of Horus, Osiris, Rē^{c}, Neit, Hathor, Ptah, Anubis, Soker, Min, Amūn, etc. Such a work as that of Gustave Lefebvre's, *Histoire des Grands Prêtres d'Amon de Karnak jusqu'a la XXIe Dynastie*, Paris, 1929, is an indication of the great amount of material there exists about the ancient Egyptian priesthood. Indeed, the priesthood of Amūn of Thebes became so great and powerful during the Eighteenth Dynasty that Thutmos III was able to create the earliest national chief priest, the first *pontifex maximus* in history, when Thebes was ecclesiastically the Rome of Egypt. From the Eighteenth to the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, the choice of the chief priest was reserved for the pharaoh, except in the reign of the weak king Merneptah, the chief priest installed his own son as his own successor. This marked the beginning of the great political power of the chief priests of Amūn, and the gradual transformation of Egypt into a sacerdotal state, until by the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty, the chief priest of Amūn, Herihor, became pharaoh. The religion of Amūn became still more grand, and his temples surpassed anything ever known before. Amūn became supreme in the state both politically and religiously. Beginning with the Bubastites of the Twenty-second Dynasty, the pharaohs adopted the use of making their own sons chief priests. However, Osorkon III of the Twenty-third

[16] Cf. Blackman, in JEA, 7 (1921), 8-30.

[17] Erman, *Beiträge z. aegyptischen Religion* (Stzb. K. Preuss. Ak. XLV), Berlin, 1916, 1144 ff.

[18] Cf. JEA, 7 (1921), 16.

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Dynasty, practically abolished the chief priesthood, and put in its stead a woman vowed to virginity, the first of whom was his own daughter. The divine spouse, for such was her title, adopted her successor, and this succession lasted till the Persian conquest, when an end was put to her authority. Meanwhile the priests of Amūn transferred themselves to Nubia, where they established a theocracy on the model of that of Thebes. A renaissance in religion, as well as in other departments of culture, took place during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and continued to some extent during the Persian period,[19] and during the Ptolemaic period the priesthood became practically hereditary, although it appears as if there had been during that time a chief priestess as well as a chief priest in the most important temple of each nome. Even during the reform of Amenophis IV, Ikhnaton was chief priest of Aton, at Hermonthis (CAH, II, 111);[20] and according to certain sculptures at Tell el-Amarna, Nefertiti, the queen, acted as a priestess in making offerings, to Aton, equally with her husband.

The usual word for temple in Egyptian is *ḥ.t nṯr*, "house of god", although *pr-nṯr*, with the same meaning is very common. A common and early epithet for it was *pr dwȝ.t*, "house of adoration". It was also called *bw ḏśr*, "holy place"; and individual temples had their own name, such as *ḥ.t bnbn*, "house of the *benben*", "the goddess abides", etc. Every deity[21] had his "house", which he inhabited and where he was worshipped; and some deities had many, such as Horus, or Osiris, who had one in almost every city. Temples are mentioned in the annals of the Palermo Stone as already founded during the Second Dynasty. But primitive and simple houses of god must have existed early in the predynastic period, indeed, no doubt, almost as early as the idea of god and of worship. Such primitive structures were doubtless very simple. In any case, for Egypt, there is no evidence of stone temples before the Third Dynasty. The oldest temple or shrine of which the deity is recorded is that of Neit[22] in the reign of Menes (Aḥa), and the earliest sanctuary, specifically mentioned, of Horus is of the Third Dynasty.

[19] One of the great chief priests of this period whose tomb has been discovered and published was Petosiris, chief priest of Khnum. (See Lefebvre Petosiris.)

[20] But it is certain that Ikhnaton made a chief priest for himself at Tell el-Amarna. See Davies, *Rock Temples of El Amarna*, London, 1903-8, Pt. I, *passim*; especially pp. 20 ff.

[21] Except such cosmic deities as Geb, Nut, Shu. However, a cosmic deity could acquire a "house" by being assimilated to a local god.

[22] A hut-shrine engraved on an ebony tablet.

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These early temples or shrines were probably quite small, made of mud, strengthened with reeds, and covered with a wooden roof, with a figure or symbol of the deity inside. The first great Egyptian

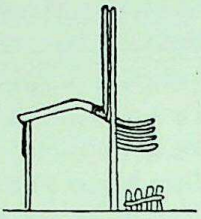

Fig. 104
THE EARLIEST TEMPLE

temples were those of Rē^{c} of the Fifth Dynasty near Memphis. They were six huge edifices, built of stone, and open to the sky. They

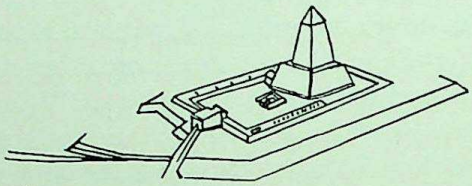

Fig. 105
A FIFTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

were very simple in arrangement. In a central court stood a maṣṭaba, surmounted by a huge and massive obelisk of white stone, in front of which was an altar, or table of offerings.[23] The form of the Egyptian temple was modelled upon a common type.[24] It was always rectangular. Lofty walls, adorned with scenes, shut off the sacred building from the street. In front, inside the walls, was a large outer court. Then a gateway, between two large pylons, admitted to the inner court, which was open to the sky. Then another doorway, opposite the great gateway, led into the hypostyle hall. This hall, fitted with many vast pillars, was the processional hall. Then came the holy of holies, a dark, narrow

[23] See Sethe, ÄZ, 27 (1889), 111-17 ; cf. Moret Nile, 162 f.

[24] See Murray, *Egyptian Temples*, London, n.d. ; Petrie, *Egyptian Architecture*, London, 1938, 68 ff. ; and for a good plan of an Old Kingdom temple, see Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-'ir-kez-re^{c}*, Leipzig, 1909, with map at end. For a plan of an Aton temple ; see JEA, 19 (1933), 1 ff.

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chamber where the deity dwelt. None but the priests were admitted to it. In the holy of holies was a small shrine or naos with double doors, inside which was a richly decorated boat, containing a statue of the deity. Sometimes there were three or more holy of

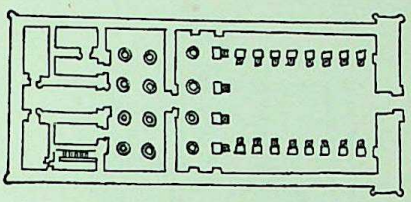

Fig. 106
GROUND-FORM OF A TEMPLE

holies, or temple-chapels. In general, there were two types of temples, those dedicated to the worship of a god, and those dedicated to the worship of the dead king. The latter are usually called mortuary temples.[25] Some of the many temples at Thebes belonged to the former class, and some were mortuary temples. Some great temples were carved out of the solid cliffs, such as that of Deir el-Bahari and that of Abu Simbel. The temple of Aton at Akhetaton apparently had no holy of holies, but services took place in the large outer court, perhaps open to the sky, beneath the rays of the sun. There was also a smaller inner court.

Temple altars on a large scale were very rare in ancient Egypt.

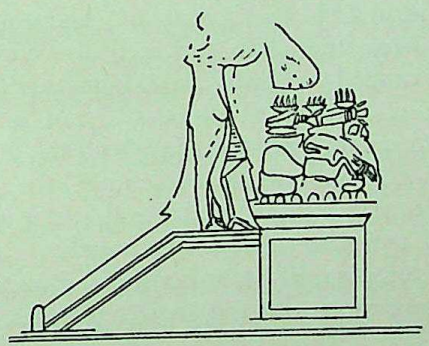

Fig. 107
IKHNATON'S ALTAR

[25] Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re*^{c}, Leipzig, 1907, i, 14, 43; cf. ÄZ, 54 (1918), 67-73.

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The earliest found so far was a temple of the Fifth Dynasty, in which was a great altar formed of five large blocks of alabaster, in the centre of which was a slightly raised circular slab, with four *ḥtp*-slabs or altars. The altar stood in front of the great stone obelisk.

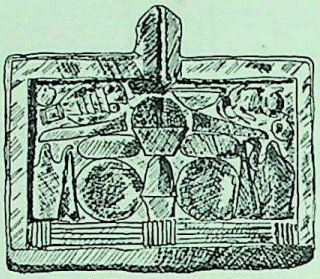

Fig. 108

THE *ḥtp*-SLAB, OR ALTAR

Beside it was an area for the slaughter of animals. As a rule the altar was quite small, in the form of a table, usually on a pedestal, with the flat top in the form of a *ḥetep*. The *ḥ3w.t* was a small altar or table of offerings, as also was the *wdḥw*, the former of the pedestal-type, the latter more like a table. The incense altar sometimes took the form of a *ḏd* (Chronique, Nos. 39 and 40 (1945), 54-63).[26] The deities to whom the temple was dedicated were represented by statues and stelas. The statue was of stone, gilded wood, gold, or bronze, and was enclosed in a shrine of wood or stone (in the holy of holies) with double doors, sealed. The holy of holies often contained also a boat, the cabin of which also contained a statue. The boat was arranged so that it could be carried in procession on the shoulders of priests. This boat is not to be confounded with the large and magnificent boat in which the god was supposed to sail on the Nile, or on the sacred temple-lake, at great festival celebrations.[27] In the temple compound, or within the temple itself, were small temples, shrines, or chapels.[28] There were also residences for the temple staff, store-houses for food, besides the great sacred lake in connection with the greater temples.

[26] Altars also, especially late ones, were sometimes dedicated, e.g. Annales, 35 (1935), 207-12.

[27] Kristensen, *De Symboliek van de Boot in den Eg. Godsdienst*, Amsterdam, 1919, 254-88.

[28] See Glanville, in JEA, 16 (1930), 237-9.

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The maintenance of the temples was assumed by the state, often in the form of taxes. But there were also foundations for the support of divine and mortuary services. Then there were offerings and fees, and in the reign of Rameses III, temples of

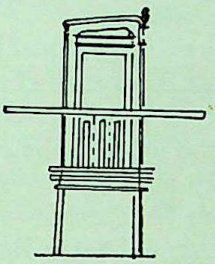

Fig. 109
A SHRINE

Amūn, Rē^{c}, and Ptah, each had its own fleet to gather gifts for the gods. The famous Papyrus Harris shows that nearly one-seventh of all land of Egypt was temple property. This in addition to the fact that sanctuaries were immune from taxation.

Mortuary temples, usually called *ḥ.t kȝ*, "house of the ka"; also *pr ḏ.t*, "house of eternity", were sometimes very large, but often quite small. Such small mortuary temples are often represented on inscriptions of the First Dynasty;[29] while the oldest large mortuary temples were those of Khufu, Khafre, and Menkure. They were similar in appointment and use to ordinary temples,

Fig. 110
A MORTUARY TEMPLE AND OFFERING

[29] E.g., AE, 1914, II, 75, No. 61.

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only they were dedicated to the worship of the deceased pharaoh. The mortuary temples, of course, always had a statue[30] of the deified king, and also a mortuary boat.[31] The general title of mortuary priests was *ḥm-kȝ*, and there were superior mortuary priests (*mrw ḥmw-kȝ*), and inferior ones (*wḏw ḥmw-kȝ*) ; and both mortuary priests and temples were endowed.

The daily divine service in ancient Egypt, as distinct from the mortuary service, performed on behalf of all deities was based upon an early solar and an early Osirian rite. The fundamental element in the solar liturgy was the toilet of the sun-god's cultus-image, in the sun-temple, every day at sun-rise ; while that in the Osirian liturgy was the imitation of the death and resurrection of Osiris. The earliest fragment of an Egyptian liturgy at present extant is that of a rite of the god Horus, earlier than the Pyramid Texts. In it there is mention neither of Osiris nor of Rē^{c}. It is Horus, the falcon, divine king of the North at Buto, whose praises are sung. Associated with him in this rite was a goddess of the north.[32] However, so far as we can discover, there always were many different liturgies in ancient Egypt. Of very few of these is there any extant information. But of two of them, those of the sun-god and of Osiris,

[30] It is often assumed that the mortuary statues in tombs are statues of the *ka*. This is not at all certain for, as far as the earlier period is concerned, *ka*-statues are never mentioned in the Pyramid Texts, nor are they ever designated as such by the inscriptions on the statues themselves. On the contrary, as rituals and pictures show, it was the *ba*, in the form of a bird with a human head, which comes and animates the statue. The statue was perhaps originally meant to take the place of the deceased in case his body should fall into decay (cf. JEA, 3 (1916), 250 ff.).

[31] It is interesting to note that the likenesses and differences between the temple in Egypt and Babylonia correspond to the likeness and differences between the two lands. The earliest Egyptian temple was a wattle hut, and so was the earliest Babylonian temple ; but the developed Egyptian temple was made of stone, while the corresponding temple in Babylonia was made of sun-dried bricks. The holy of holies in the temples of both countries, where the image of the deity was kept was a solemn, darkened sanctuary. In both lands the daily service of the temple began with the morning toilet of the divine image, and one of the chief elements in the religious services of both countries were the elaborate processions by land and often by water, especially when celebrating the divine marriage of deities. Religion being as it always and everywhere has been a body of customs, or largely so, we shall not be surprised to find in the ritual of Babylonian divine services customs quite like those which we have been studying in this chapter, and that is particularly true in respect of the ceremonies and ritual of sacrifices and libations.

[32] Moret, " Texte rituel du début de l'Ancien Empire ", CR, 1937, 239-51.

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State Museum, LUCKNOW.

a great deal of material has been collected. Until about the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty the two liturgies of the sun-god and Osiris were celebrated side by side, although gradually influencing the one the other. It seems certain, however, that by the beginning of the New Kingdom the daily liturgy of the sun-god and of Osiris, as well as, most likely, that of almost all deities, was celebrated in a uniform manner.[33]

A version of the solar liturgy at Karnak is preserved in a papyrus now in the Berlin Museum (No. 3055), of the Twenty-second Dynasty, which appears to be a later edition of the Osirian liturgy at Abydos preserved on the walls of six chapels in the temple of Seti I. This latter in word and illustration is fairly complete in all essentials. The two form a nearly complete version, and each contains, of course, the essential elements of the other. We gather from the two services that the first ritual act was the purification by water[34] of the priest (i.e. the king or his proxy) ; then the entrance into the temple and kindling of a fire ; the preparation of the censer ; the entrance into the sanctuary ; the opening of the shrine ; the prostration before the image of the deity ; censing ; the placing of the image of the deity upon a pile of sand ; the toilet of the image ; the dressing of the image ; and finally the sacramental meal.[35] On festive occasions the image of the deity was carried in procession. In this service the solar theory of the rebirth of the dead king with a new body was held at the same time as that of the resuscitation of Osiris by lustral acts ; the lustral washing of the statue is outwardly solar, but Osirian in signification.

This daily liturgy was always preceded by a service which has been called the rite of the House of Morning (*pr dw3.t*), or House of Adoration, which was an old service based on the king's actual, daily morning toilet, turned into a religious ceremony.

[33] Cf. Blackman, in JMEOS, 1918-19, 27-53 ; JEA, 5 (1918), 148-65 ; RT, 39 (1920), 56 ; Moret Rituel, *passim*.

[34] The purification was by water, first, in imitation of the sun rising out of the water each morning, and, secondly, because, in ancient Egypt as well as in all ancient lands, water was always associated with life. In Egypt it was thought that the deceased king was reborn and affiliated with the sun-god by being washed in the sacred pool (PT 2063-6). Indeed, water was always considered sacred in ancient Egypt ; it was always used in sacred rites ; and its cult was observed in Egypt after the rise of Christianity (cf. ÄZ, 39 (1901), 4, pls. I-II ; ÄZ, 46 (1909), 132 ff. ; ÄZ, 50 (1912), 132 ; Athanasius, *in gent.*, 24, Migne, 25, 48).

[35] Cf. Mar. Ab., I, 34-56.

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Water was brought from the sacred lake attached to the temple, and was identified with that of Nun. The king was bathed, presented with natron to chew, and thus made to live anew. He was then robed, anointed, and invested with royal insignia. Thus prepared, he entered the temple, as divine king and priest, to celebrate the daily liturgy. It was, as it were, an elaborate service of preparation in the sacristy, before the celebration of the divine mysteries.

Thus, the daily divine liturgy consisted of five main parts: (1) The rite of preparation in the House of Morning; then (2) The king, or his deputy, enters the temple and performs his ablutions; (3) He enters the holy of holies, where are the shrine and image of the god, and he purifies the image, clothes, adorns, and crowns it; (4) He offers the sacramental meal; (5) The priest-king leaves the sanctuary, walking backwards, with his face towards the shrine. Finally, the assistants wipe away all traces of his footsteps. The whole liturgy was accompanied by recitations, and both vocal and instrumental music. Its purpose was to obtain divine favour for the king.

The only known exception of importance to this general form of the divine liturgy as celebrated in ancient Egypt, from about the Eighteenth Dynasty to the end, was the liturgy of the Aton temple at Akhetaton. In the Aton liturgy there were no toilet episodes and there was no image of the god. Otherwise the form of this liturgy was about the same as that of the solar-Osirian liturgy already briefly described. There was: Burning of incense; pouring out of libations; the sacred meal for the Aton; offering of unguents and flowers; and all was accompanied by recitations, and vocal and instrumental music (see also above, chapter IX).[36]

The mortuary liturgy, as distinct from the divine liturgy, was celebrated on behalf of the deceased divine king and on behalf of the dead in general. The celebration took place in the mortuary temples or in tombs or graves—in tombs and graves in the case of others than royalty. The main difference between the divine liturgy and the mortuary liturgy lay in those parts which concerned the rebirth or new life in the solar aspects of the divine liturgy, and in those which had to do with resuscitation in the Osirian aspects

[36] Cf. Blackman in Rec Champ, "A Study of the Liturgy celebrated in the Temple of the Aton at El-Amarna". For an example of a service of the standard type, with slight variations, see that of Horus in his temple of Edfu, outlined in Mercer Horus, 203.

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of the same. Otherwise, the two liturgies were very much the same. Funeral services, which we have discussed in chapter XIX are to be distinguished from the mortuary liturgy, not only because they are in many respects quite different, but also because they were actual burial services, while mortuary liturgies were more in the nature of memorial services, and had aspects of what we call " masses for the dead ". The first part of the mortuary liturgy for the king was in form very much like the service called the rite of the House of Morning. It was daily performed in the chapel attached to the royal tomb. The king was supposed to be washed, each day, and reborn anew. However, a libation and a statue of the deceased king were substituted for the actual washing of the body of the king, as in the rite of the House of Morning. The second part of the mortuary liturgy was a ceremony called the Opening of the Mouth—a ceremony which also formed a part of the funeral service, as we have already seen in chapter XIX. This ceremony in the mortuary liturgy, on behalf either of the king or of a simple individual, whether in temple, tomb, or grave, was meant to restore the deceased to the use of his ordinary faculties of eating, drinking, speaking, seeing, and to enable the revivified king or individual to utter the right words in the right manner. The priest did for the deceased just what Horus had done for his father. The following is a brief outline of this service of the Opening of the Mouth,[37] the second part of the mortuary liturgy: (1) Placing of the statue upon a mound of sand; (2) Purification of the statue by incense and water; (3) Purification of the mouth of the statue by natron and incense; (4) The first sacrifice; (5) The opening of the mouth and eyes; (6) The second sacrifice; and (7) Anointing, clothing, censing, and feeding of the statue, which is then borne away to its shrine. It seems that the two parts of this liturgy in time were blended into one which was in all essentials the service of the Opening of the Mouth. However, they originally were separate, as in the case of the daily divine liturgy and the rite of the House of the Morning, which preceded it.[38]

As would be expected, ancient Egyptian liturgies were replete

[37] See also above in chapter XIX, 319-20.

[38] The Egyptian ceremony of Opening of the mouth finds a much closer parallel in Assyria than in Babylonia—the objects used in the ritual, the place where it was ordinarily performed, even the specific animal to be sacrificed (the ram), and the reed mat on which the statue was to be set correspond exactly in the two lands. In this case, the whole ceremony may have been borrowed by Assyria, for it is much older in Egypt, it fits better into the Egyptian religious

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with ritual acts. Accordingly, for example, as the sun-god was thought to have been born every morning out of the watery abyss, and to have been bathed by Horus and Thot,[39] so the washing or sprinkling of the living and dead king seems to have been a regular feature of the Heliopolitan liturgy, in which case human officiants impersonated Horus and Thot. And when the dead king came to be regarded as Osiris, according to the Osirian liturgy, the ritual act of washing his corpse became an episode in the ceremony of embalming. This was performed when the corpse was taken out of the salt-bath. Thus, this ritual act of ablutions—washing and sprinkling—symbolized new-birth (cf. PT 1180 f.), and became an essential act in many rites, and more especially in the rite of the House of Morning, which immediately preceded the daily divine liturgy. It was also an essential act in the ceremony of Opening the Mouth, which, as we have seen in chapter XIX, rendered the deceased immortal. It was thus a ritual act symbolizing not only new-life, but also immortality (cf. PT 1359, 1201, 733, 1411, 1981, 1367 ff., 2014, 1983). For the purpose of carrying out this ritual act, a pool or lake was connected with many temples, and there were always purification-vessels in abundance, such as a ewer (PT 1179), a basin (?) (PT 1322), and a pitcher (PT 1180, 1116). Associated with acts of lustration was the ritual act of censing. The deceased were censed ; and so were statues. And incense, like water, was thought to possess purifying qualities (PT 1017, 2066), but there is no indication that it was thought to have the same life-giving and immortalizing qualities as water. However, both water and incense were used as libations, gifts, *res sacrificii* in liturgical services. Thus, water was the " eye of Horus " (PT 10), just as incense was (PT 20, 1643). And so was oil (PT 2071-3). Many different kinds of unguents were used in

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framework, but there was probably an older Mesopotamian ceremony, known in Babylonia, with some general similarities to the Egyptian rite, inherited by Assyria and brought into closer line with the Egyptian ceremony in later times. (See A. M. Blackman, " The Rite of Opening the Mouth in ancient Egypt and Babylonia ", JEA, 10 (1924), 47-59 ; S. Smith, " The Babylonian Ritual for the Consecration and Induction of a Divine Statue ", JRAS, 1915, pp. 37-60 ; E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier*, I. Teil : Texte, Berlin und Leipzig, 1931, pp. 100-22.)

[39] Or, Horus and Seth ; or Horus, Seth, Thot, and Sepa, or Horus alone, or sometimes Anubis substituted for Horus (cf. Blackman, in RT, 39 (1920), 47, 52 ; or even Atum himself might wash the deceased (PT 211).

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ritual ceremonies ;[40] as were also natron (PT 27) and other materials of purification (PT 26-7, 849, 2015). In various ceremonies, sand was used,[41] also a bell,[42] and the sistrum was very common, used by goddesses, the queen, princesses, the king as priest, but never an ordinary man.[43] Washing of the hands with water was a ritual act, as also was the act of spitting,[44] a ritual act which is still performed in the Christian liturgy of the Ethiopic Church. A regular ritual act in the daily divine liturgy, at the end of the service, was the sweeping off of the footprints of the sacred ministers.

Ritual processions played an important part in great religious ceremonies. On his coronation day, each pharaoh from the time of Menes paraded in pomp round a fortified wall, and the ceremony came to be called " the procession round the wall " (*phrr ḥ3 'inb*). Then, there were great religious boat-processions, as in the Feast of Opet (see below), a ceremony with its counterpart in a boat-procession which is now held annually at Thebes and Qena on the birthday of the Mohammedan patron saint of the town.[45] Funeral processions, as we have already seen, were quite regular.[46]

Great emphasis was placed upon cleanliness as a priestly requisite. Herodotus (II, 37) tells us that they practiced circumcision for cleanliness, priests shaved their whole bodies every day ; bathed twice every day in cold water ; and wore white linen. This is in keeping with what we learn from earlier sources, except that no mention is made of shaving the whole body, only of shaving the head.[47] Priests impersonated certain gods in officiating by wearing, as a rule, a mask of the living creature by which the particular god was symbolized.[48] Priests of the Old Kingdom wore the same dress as ordinary people. A few, like the chief priest of Ptah, wore a badge, which designated their office (Mar Mast 74, 75), but by the New Kingdom the ancient dress of an ordinary man was retained as

[40] Cf. Jéquier Dict., *passim*.

[41] See Canney, in JMEOS, XIV, 35 ff.

[42] See AE, 1930, II, 40-2.

[43] Cf. Jacobsohn, *op. cit.*, 20.

[44] BD (Budge), p. clv.

[45] Hornell, in *Man*, 38 (1938), Sept., No. 171 ; cf. Re-Heiligtum, I, *passim*, especially chapter V.

[46] See for an interesting description, Shorter, *An Introduction to Egyptian Religion*, New York, 1932, 50 ff.

[47] See Otto Priester, II, 256, 4.

[48] RT, 39 (1920), 57 ; Moret Nile, 312.

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priestly garments.[49] So that, by then each priest, in general, wore a leopard's skin, the tail of which hung down between his legs.

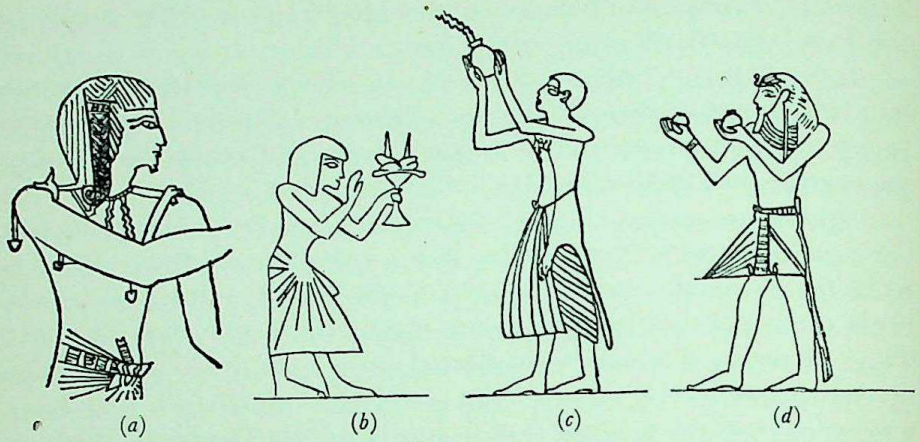

Fig. 111

PRIESTS—(*a*) HIGH PRIEST, (*b*) PRIEST WITH BRAZIER, (*c*) PRIEST POURING A LIBATION, (*d*) KING AS A PRIEST OFFERING WINE

He also wore a large wig, and had straps over his shoulder, just as he did about 2900 B.C.[50] The *ḫri-ḥb*-priest was distinguished by a scarf crossing his body, over the left shoulder and under the right arm; and the *śm*-priest by the šnḏw.t-skirt.[51] Various priests carried different staffs and other insignia of office; and the traditional pose of a priest showed him with left foot advanced, right arm at side, left arm bent at elbow with hand grasping a staff, short pleated kilt, and kerchief in his left hand, ears and eyes prominent, and head shaven. The ordinary posture of prayer, whether of priest or layman, was standing with both hands raised as high as the face, palms outwards. Sometimes the individual prayed standing with hands crossed over the breast; sometimes seated with both hands raised in the usual way; and sometimes kneeling with hands in the same posture.[52]

Dancing was a common religious ritual act. As an act of

[49] This has a parallel in the modern official Anglican episcopal robes.

[50] Fechheimer, *Die Plastik der Aegypter*, Berlin, 1914, pls. 14-15.

[51] See Lutz, *Textiles and Costumes among the Peoples of the ancient Near East*, Leipzig, 1923, 118 ff.; Bonnet, *Die aeg. Tracht*, Leipzig, 1917, 11.

[52] Davies and Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, II, Chicago, 1936, pl. 92.

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worship, it can be traced back to the time of the First Dynasty and thence even to Roman times. The earliest and most famous of these sacred dances was that connected with the *Sed*-festival (see below), the first example of which appears on the *Den*-tablet of the First Dynasty.[53]

The origin of prayer goes back, no doubt, to the time when human thought began. The very idea of god implies a relationship between him and man, whose idea he is, and that relationship implies mental and verbal communion. That is what prayer is. As mankind had ears, so had god ears,[54] and with them he was likely to hear the expression of man's needs and wants. Prayers were, therefore, private. They were also public, addressed by the priest on behalf of the people, in a public place to one or more divine beings. Prayers were offered for all kinds of needs, from the most trivial to the most abstract: "for an ink-pot and for a palette"; before setting out on a journey; for the comfort of the dead;[55] to propitiate an angry deity; for personal needs in general —"pray for thyself", said the philosopher, "that he may supply thy need, hear thy words, and accept thy offering" (Pap Boul, i, 17, 1 ff.); and as a supreme act of spiritual adoration—thus, Ikhnaton prayed, "I breathe the sweet breath which comes forth from thy mouth. I behold thy beauty every day. It is my desire that I may hear thy sweet voice, even the north wind, that my limbs may be rejuvenated with life through love of thee. Give me thy hands, holding thy spirit, that I may receive it and may live by it. Call then upon my name unto eternity, and it shall never fail."[56] But in spite of the heights attained in the art of prayer in ancient Egypt, prayer on the whole, from first to last, was little better than magic charms.

The same piety which expressed itself in reverent adoration

[53] Petrie Royal Tombs, I, p. 22, and pl. XV, 16; Quibell Hierak, I, 26a, b; II, 41; PT 1189; Re-Heiligtum, I, chapter V; Davies Der-el-Gebr, II, 33; ÄZ, 52 (1915), 61-72; Kees Opfertanz, *passim*, especially p. 194; Lexova, *Ancient Egyptian Dances*, Praha, 1935, *passim*; Klebs Reliefs, 109; see especially for religious ritual dances, with music and singing, E. Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz im Alten Aegypten*, Glückstadt—Hamburg—New York, 1938.

[54] A memorial tablet, in the Berlin Museum, dedicated to Amūn-Rēᶜ has carved upon it two ears, indicating that Amūn-Rēᶜ hears prayers (Erman Religion, fig. 53).

[55] Cf. Prayers for the dead in Garnot, "L'Appel aux vivants" (Rech. d'Arch. de P. et d'H., Tome 9 (1938), 1-7.

[56] Weigall, *A Short History of Ancient Egypt*, London, 1934, 159.

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was manifested also in litanies to individual deities,[57] as well as in ritual acts of physical purification and the self-denial of fasting.[58]

It seems that offerings in temples and at tombs and graves in ancient Egypt may, for convenience of description, be divided into three classes : first, those which were offered to deities, and which may be called sacrifices ; secondly, those offered on behalf of all deceased human beings, including the king, and which may be called mortuary sacrifices ; and thirdly, those which were offered merely as gifts for the benefit and use of the deceased in the next world, and which may be called mortuary gifts. This classification may be arbitrary, but in lieu of more definite knowledge of an indigenous classification, if there was ever any, it may serve to visualize more easily the custom of offerings in temples, tombs, and graves.[59]

It was well-nigh a universal belief among the ancients that it was useful and sometimes necessary to please and propitiate the gods in order to secure their favour and good will ; and it was thought that about the best way to accomplish that was by means of gifts, or of a meal or banquet. For, as we have seen, the gods lived very much as human beings, and enjoyed food, clothing, and other material things. Such gifts, of all kinds and classes, were offered, as to quality and quantity, in accordance with the favour desired, and with the wealth of the giver. They were, therefore, sometimes very simple ; sometimes very rich and great ; and they became eventually a daily duty. This is true both of sacrifices to the gods, and of mortuary sacrifices.[60]

The oldest mortuary sacrifice of which we have any written account was in the form of a banquet. But this does not mean that mortuary sacrifices always took the form of a meal. On the contrary, it is very nearly certain that the usual form of a mortuary sacrifice was by the simple giving, or devoting, gifts in a temple, tomb, or grave for the benefit of the deceased, whether we think of him as a soul (*ba*), a double (*ka*), or as a completely resuscitated being with both his *ba* and his *ka*.[61] Mortuary sacrifices were primarily for the deceased king or individual—primarily, for there

[57] Cf. ÄZ, 60 (1925), 29 ff. ; Annales, 15, 273-83.

[58] Cf. Erman Religion, 190-1.

[59] Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, London, 1937, I, pl. xviii, 36.

[60] For a recent discussion of the origin of sacrifice in ancient Egypt, see Junker in *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 1941, 109 ff. ; in Gîza, V, 94 ff. ; and Kees in *Nachrichten von der Ak. d. Wiss. in Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 1942, Nr. 2, 71 ff.

[61] Budge Liturgy, 19 ff.

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is good reason to believe that a considerable portion, if not a majority, of the richly varied food and other things offered to the gods and to the deceased were actually used for the maintenance of the priesthood after they had been presented and spread before the gods and the deceased.

As the deceased were believed to have had similar needs to those of the living, there is no doubt but that much of the material left in mortuary temples, tombs, and graves were simply gifts for the use and comfort of the dead. It is impossible, in the present state of our knowledge, to distinguish between what may be technically called *res sacrificii* and simple gifts. But of the food, utensils, ushabtiu, brought and left in mortuary temples, tombs, and graves; and of the pictures of all kinds of food and utensils pictured on the walls of the mortuary-chambers, much, no doubt, was put there not as a sacrifice, but as pure gifts for the use and comfort of the deceased person. Just as the deceased could be promoted in human rank (BAR, I, 385*c*), so he could enjoy all the other good things of life. In order that mortuary sacrifices, and perhaps simple gifts also, be continually made in the future as well as during the lifetime of the relatives of the deceased, endowments were created for their maintenance.

The most general name, title, or formula of a sacrifice was *ḥtp-di-nśw.t*, "an offering which the king gives". As a sacrifice, *par excellence*, was that which the king, as the only priest, made to god, on his own behalf and perhaps also on behalf of his people, it was the king's offering. This idea was expressed in the phrase, "an offering which the king gives", and, with the passage of time, having become stereotyped, was applied to all sacrifices.[62] The phrase *pr.t-r-ḫrw*, "offering", refers primarily to mortuary sacrifices, but also to simple gifts. Numerous phrases (see also below) were used to express the notion "to sacrifice", one of the commonest having been, *'ir 'iḫ.t*, "to sacrifice". A most interesting expression for "sacrifice" was the phrase, *'ir.t Ḥr*, "the eye of Horus". In the famous conflict between Horus and Set, the former lost his eye. The conflict was fought to avenge Osiris, so the loss of his eye was Horus's sacrifice for his father Osiris. Hence the term, "eye of Horus", for sacrifice.[63] The same phrase was also used for any single thing offered as a sacrifice (e.g. PT Ut. 54).

For the greater sacrifices an animal was slain. Indeed, many

[62] Cf. Davies and Gardiner Amenemhēt, 79-93.

[63] See Mercer Horus, chapter VII.

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words meaning " to kill ", " to slay ", also mean " to sacrifice ". Thus, *rḫś* means " to slay ", and " to sacrifice ", so do also *śft*, *śm3*, etc. Many of these words are determined by a slain bull, for the bull was so common as an animal for sacrifice. Ritual slaying for sacrifices was usual, especially in the case of the bull at Memphis and the ram at Thebes. In ritual slaying, a priest called the *mr ḥri.t*, " chief of sacrifice ", sometimes also the *ḥm-nṯr* and the *w3b* were present, who, no doubt, certified the deed. The following acts were performed in the ritual slaughter : (1) The animal was thrown down ; (2) The jugular vein was cut ; (3) The blood was collected ; (4) The fore-leg was cut off ; (5) The heart was extracted; (6) The flesh of the " fore-part " was cut off ; (7) The hind-leg was cut off ; and (8) The priest certified the purity of the sacrificial meat.[64] Sometimes the sacrifice took the form of a burnt-offering (*grr*), in which an animal, such as an ox, was ritually burned ;[65] sometimes that of a libation, in which water, the blood of the sacrificial animal, or even milk was poured out, to propitiate the deity, or in the case of a mortuary sacrifice to help restore the vital fluids, life, to the deceased ;[66] and sometimes that of a " meal ", or general food offering, when the priest lay before the god or the deceased, on an altar, the first-fruits of his harvest, and other desirable things.[67]

The question as to whether human sacrifice was ever practiced in ancient Egypt is difficult to answer with certainty. On the basis of what classical writers had to say, an affirmative answer would be given, for example, Diodorus says that kings of Egypt were in the habit of sacrificing on the tomb of Osiris men who were of the colour of Typhon (I, 45 and 88) ; Procopius asserts that human sacrifice took place in Philae (De bello Pers., I, 19) ; Porphyry says that Amosis abolished the law of sacrificing men in the Egyptian city of Heliopolis (De Abstinentia, II, 55) ; and Ovid says that the custom of sacrificing strangers arose during a famine owing to low Nile for nine succeeding years (Ars Amator., I, 647).[68] These statements of classical writers, together with the fact that human sacrifice was not unknown among ancient primitive peoples

[64] See Klebs Reliefs, 121 ; Montet, in Bulletin, VII, 41 ff. ; cf. AE, 1917, IV.

[65] Petrie History, III, 153 ; Gîza, II, 116.

[66] Cf. PT 10, 22-3 ; Urkunden, I, 75, 10 ; ÄZ, 50 (1912), 69 f. ; RT, 39 (1920), 57, 71 ; Bibl. Egypt, 13, 169-85.

[67] Cf. ÄZ, 20 (1882), 169, 180.

[68] Cf. Herod., II, 45 ; Plutarch IO, 73.

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and also among modern backward peoples, have led a good many Egyptologists to seek evidence of human sacrifice in Egyptian texts and pictures. Among the foremost of them was Budge who believed the question could be decidedly answered in the affirmative.[69] He and others call in as a witness on the affirmative side the representation of the predynastic king, Narmer, holding what seems to be a prisoner of war by the hair of the head. But there is no indication that he means to *sacrifice* him. He perhaps meant to kill him, but that is quite a different thing. Nor is there any proof that the ten decapitated men on the other side of the same monument, the famous slate palette of Narmer, are intended to be offered as sacrifices.[70] The same is true of the figures on the tables of Menes (Aḥa) ;[71] the inscription of the First Dynasty king, Den ; that of Snefru of the Fourth Dynasty ; that of Amenemhet III of the Twelfth Dynasty ; and that of Thutmose IV of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The attitude of the king and likewise of the captive in these three last pictures is the same as those on the palette of Narmer.[72] The same verdict must be rendered as to the character of the many almost identical scenes on later monuments.[73] These and the pictures of the enemies of Osiris in the *Book of Gates* need depict nothing more than torture or murder. Certainly, neither the cannibalism of Unis (PT Ut. 273), nor the butchering of fiends by Osiris (BD, XVIII) has anything to do with human sacrifice. Both Budge (Osiris, 222-4) and Müller (Mythology, 196-7) think that they find in a New Kingdom tomb a picture of the strangling and burning of Nubian slaves at a funeral, but there is nothing to show that they were burned, much less to show that they were sacrificed. Hopfner even doubts whether the real sacred animal of a temple was ever slain.[74] However that may be, and even if prehistoric Egyptians were in the habit, as other primitive peoples, on great and solemn occasions, of offering human beings in sacrifice, there does not seem to me at present any convincing evidence in extant Egyptian material, written or otherwise, to prove that the

[69] Budge Osiris, chapter VI ; cf. Bibl. Egypt, 36, 269-304; JEA, 27 (1941), 138-43 ; Wiedemann Aegypten, 45, 231, and n. 1 ; Annales, 8 (1907), 45 ; ÄZ, 48 (1910), 69-77.

[70] Budge Osiris, 119, 201.

[71] Petrie Royal Tombs, II, iii, 4, 6.

[72] Budge Osiris, 207, 209.

[73] E.g. Stela of Amâda, ll. 16-17 of Amenophis II ; and the Tomb of Seti I, ll. 35-6 ; cf. Wreszinski Atlas, II, 2, Taf. 184 and 184a.

[74] Hopfner Tierkult, 19.

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historic Egyptians ever practised human sacrifice.[75] Nor do I know of any word in the Egyptian language for " human sacrifice ".[76] The question of the supposed sacrificial slaying of the pharaoh will be discussed in a later paragraph in this chapter.

The ceremonial presentation of the *res sacrificii* formed part of the daily divine liturgy and the mortuary liturgy, as we have already seen. An example of a full form of presentation in the daily divine liturgy, in which there are no less than twenty-four episodes, is to be found on the architraves of the first hypostyle hall at Edfu ;[77] and an example of that in the mortuary liturgy, equally full, may be consulted in the *Liturgy of Funerary Offerings*.[78] A description of the presentation of the *res sacrificii* in the divine liturgy of the Aton at Akhetaton is given in the *Rock Tombs of El Amarna*.[79]

Great care was taken to preserve as clean and pure as possible all materials offered in sacrifices, and most food offerings were sprinkled with water containing natron ; then all was arranged in an orderly manner. Fresh food and drink were placed daily on the table of offerings, and on festival days extra gifts were presented. Very often pictures of offering-material were carved or painted on the walls of tombs and graves, which, no doubt, were thought by some to become by magic real food and drink for the deceased.

The *res sacrificii* represented practically everything used in ordinary daily life : oxen,[80] gazelles, antelopes, wild goats (in early times), hedgehogs, hare, hyaenas, asses, swine,[81] birds, fowl, swans, doves, ducks, cranes, geese by the hundred, fish (Klebs Reliefs, 78, 142-3), grains, barley, corn, bread, many kinds of cake, plants, linen, beer, wine,[82] blood, milk, figs, vegetables, fruit, honey, wax,

[75] See for a contrary view, E. Lefébure, " Le Sacrifice humain d'après les rites de Busiris et d'Abydos ", Sphinx, III, 129-64.

[76] The word rendered " human sacrifices ", in Budge Dictionary, p. 731a, namely, *šᶜ3.wt*, cannot justly so be rendered ; nor can the word *3btw*. *Šm3 šbi* means " slaughter of the enemy ".

[77] See Chassinat Edfou, *passim*.

[78] Budge Liturgy, *passim*.

[79] Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, Pts. I-VI, London, 1903-8, Pt. I, ' The Tomb of Meryra ".

[80] Herodotus (II, 41) reported that cows were not sacrificed, because they were sacred to Isis.

[81] Herodotus (II, 47) says swine were offered only to Bacchus and the moon. Poor people made pigs of dough, which they baked and offered.

[82] Herodotus reported (cf. Plutarch IO, 6) that only in the temple of Heliopolis was wine forbidden, and priests were to abstain from its use.

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incense, natron, oil, ointments, flowers, papyrus, lotus, perfume, etc.[83] Very often special offerings were made to different deities, an ink-pot and palette to Thot, a figure of *m3ᶜ.t* to Maat, a phallic[84] symbol to Hathor, etc. Similar, only simpler, objects were placed on tombs and graves, as gifts for the deceased, such as furniture, utensils, vessels, clothing, toilet articles, and cosmetics. These were individual possessions and gifts, and not *res sacrificii*.[85]

Besides the great liturgical ceremonies performed in temples and tombs, the ancient Egyptians observed numerous minor rites. The rite of circumcision must have been practised in predynastic times, as a slate palette in the British Museum seems to prove,[86] but no details of the ritual are extant. It is true that the circumcised men on this palette are enemies of the king, and perhaps, therefore, foreigners, but the Old Kingdom usage for natives is made quite clear by an Old Kingdom bas-relief, reproduced in Klebs Reliefs, I, Abb. 10, in which the act of circumcision on two boys is clearly shown, as well as by the literary material published by Erman in his *Reden, Rufe und Lieder*.[87] Moreover, the regular hieroglyphic sign for penis shows the mark of circumcision ;[88] and Herodotus (II, 36) reported that Egyptians were a circumcised people.[89] Wilcken reports evidence for circumcision for girls of the Ptolemaic period.[90]

The ceremony of coronation was in course of the centuries well-developed between the time of its origin in prehistoric Egypt until that of the emperors of Roman Egypt. There is a tradition preserved in the Pyramid Texts (Ut. 222) about the crowning of the Lower Egyptian kings of Buto, in which scraps of the ritual are preserved.[91] Furthermore, inscriptions of the first two dynasties together with the Palermo Stone furnish ritual material about the

[83] See for important lists of *res sacrificii* : Maspero, in RHR, 35 (1897), 275-330 ; 36 (1898), 1-19 ; Bissing Gemnikai, 38 ff. ; Budge Liturgy, *passim* ; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I, 32 ff. ; BAR, II, 553 ; IV, 768 ; Gîza, II, 69 ff.

[84] Hornblower, in *Man*, 26, May 1926, No. 52, 81-3 ; *Man*, 27, No. 97, 150 ff.

[85] E.g. the things found in the tomb of Tutankhamen.

[86] Weigall, *Ancient Egyptian Works of Art*, London, 1924, p. 5. The enemies of the king are shown with marks of circumcision ; cf. ÄZ, 52 (1914), 59 f.

[87] Erman Reden, 61.

[88] See Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Oxford, 1927, 448.

[89] See also Eliot Smith, in JMEOS, 1912-13, p. 75.

[90] Wilcken Ptolemäerzeit, I, 118.

[91] See Sethe Urgeschichte, 180.

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coronation of the king of United Egypt.[92] So that in time, there had developed a ceremony with the following principal episodes: (1) The candidate was purified by two priests, impersonating Horus and Thot (or Horus and Set); (2) The candidate was presented with the two crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt; (3) He was embraced by the chief god of the temple in which he was crowned; (4) The sacrifice was offered and eaten.[93] Then followed the ceremony of enthronement, in which there were five principal episodes: (1) Purification and presentation of the new king to the gods; (2) Presentation of the king to the people; (3) Proclamation of the official names of the king; (4) Presentation of the crowns; (5) Sacrifice.[94]

Various religious ceremonies were connected with the building of a temple: The ceremony of stretching the line; of ground-breaking; of sand-clearing; of tile-making; and of laying the corner-stone.[95] The greatest of these was the rite of consecration which had three principal episodes: (1) Royal procession around the temple; (2) Rapping twelve times on the door; (3) Purification of the naos with fire.[96] A watch was then set up to guard the temple.[97] The consecration of a tomb or an ordinary house had a rite similar to that of the consecration of a temple.[98]

There seems to have been a rite of transfiguration, similar to that of Opening the Mouth, in which the priest invokes the sun-god to grant to the deceased the same worship as that which Rē^{c} himself receives, and to his spirit divine offerings.[99] There was a ceremony of confinement of the goddess, wife of the temple;[100] ceremony of drawing the boat of Soker around the temple of Edfu;[101] ceremony of "breaking red pots";[102] ceremony of

[92] See Moret Nile, 123.

[93] Moret Royauté, 86 ff., 212-13.

[94] Moret Royauté, 76; it seems clear that this ceremony followed that of coronation, contrary to Moret's views.

[95] Bissing Re-Heiligtum, I, *passim*; Schaefer Kunst, Abb. 36.

[96] At the consecration of an important temple, at least, such as that of Edfu, the rite of Opening the Mouth formed a part of the service (cf. Blackman and Fairman in JEA, 32 (1946), 75-91).

[97] Cf. Moret Royauté, 130 ff.; Davies Puyemrê, II, 22, n. 2.

[98] Moret Royauté, 143-4.

[99] See Winlock, *Bas-relief from the Tomb of Rameses I at Abydos*, New York, 1921, *passim*, especially, pp. 50-4.

[100] Bulletin, 10 (1910), 191 ff.

[101] Mythe d'Horus, pl. 25.

[102] ÄZ, 63 (1928), 101.

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self-dedication ;[103] ceremonies of purifications in various rites, which Blackman has compared with Christian Baptism ;[104] and the ceremony of taking an oath. The oath, as in Babylonia and Assyria, was sworn in the name of a god or the king, usually in a temple,[105] and with witnesses before judges.[106] There were many other religious ceremonies, but of comparative unimportance.

Festivals in ancient Egypt were numerous and as a rule religious. There were birth-days of gods and men ; festivals connected with the legendary episodes in the life of the gods ; festivals of coronations and royal jubilees ; etc. ; and many festivals of a funerary character. All these festivals had their ceremonies, some simple others elaborate, but almost all more or less a variation, a copy or a development of the ritual of the daily divine liturgy. Processions played an important part in many of the more important festivals ; the temples were decorated and illuminated ; there were litters in the form of boats ; statues of gods were exhibited and carried about ; sacrificial offerings were made, and libations poured out ; and there were incense, prayers, and hymns ; in the case of mortuary festivals there were also litanies.

One of the oldest and most important of all festivals was the famous *ḥb-śd*, in which the king assumed the character, insignia and costume of Osiris (cf. above, chapter VI, especially n. 114), and experienced an Osirian death, resurrection, and new-birth ; but which was harmonized with solar theology at Heliopolis. The essence of the rite, therefore, was the identification of the king with Osiris ; and its purpose to renew and strengthen the life of the king. It was a royal festival, a jubilee, and was celebrated periodically by every pharaoh from the time of Menes.[107] The name of the festival, *śd*, means " a tail ", and the bull's tail on the robe of the pharaoh may have been given to him at the *ḥb-śd* as a symbol of the new strength of the pharaoh, acquired as a result of the festival.[108] If the two statuettes, now in the collection of University College,

[103] JEA, 25 (1939), 73.

[104] *Theology*, I (1920), 134-42 ; " Purification ", in ERE.

[105] Moret Royauté, 306 ; ÄZ, 43 (1906), 40; ARW, 15, 435; ÄZ, 48 (1911), 168-74 ; AE, 1915, 182 ; Otto Priester, II, 90, n. 3, 298.

[106] ÄZ, 43 (1906), 36.

[107] The literature on this subject is voluminous. Here are recorded a very few of the more helpful discussions : Moret Royauté, 211, 235-7 ; Moret Nil, 147 f. ; Bissing Re-Heiligtum, *passim* ; ÄZ, 39 (1901), 71-4 ; JEA, 5 (1918), 61-3 ; *Analecta Orientalia*, 17 (1938), 4-9.

[108] Cf. Murray, in AE, 1926, II, 33 ff.

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London, and published by Miss Murray in AE, 1932, III, 70-2, be correctly analysed and dated, then it can be said definitely that the *Śed*-festival was celebrated before the time of Menes. In any case, there is no doubt about the representation of the festival on the ceremonial mace-head of Narmer, now at Oxford ; about the Thinite labels which bear engravings of the feast (e.g. Petrie Royal Tombs, I, xv, 16) ; about the references to it in the Pyramid Texts ; and about the reliefs on the Fifth Dynasty temples depicting it. From then until the end of the Roman period, it was well established as a royal festival and jubilee. Even Ikhnaton, heretic in most else, celebrated this essential and famous festival.[109]

It is usually assumed that the *ḥb-śd* was a thirty-year festival, but without sufficient grounds.[110] It may have been celebrated every thirty years, not of a reign, but in succession.[111] But, however, that may be, we know that there was a *ḥb-śd* in the reign of Ikhnaton, who reigned in all only seventeen years ; that Thutmose II, though he lived not more than twenty-five years, seems to have celebrated the festival twice ; and that inscriptions of Rameses II give at least five *Śed*-festivals for his reign.[112]

The *Śed*-festival has been more or less gratuitously connected with the so-called ritual murder of the king. The theory of the ritual murder of a king is largely based upon anthropological deductions, which in turn are based chiefly upon practices of such modern primitive peoples as the Shilluks of Africa, who are said to have been in the habit of putting their ageing king to death. However that may be, there is no evidence that either the prehistoric Egyptians or the dynastic Egyptians ever observed this practice. It is possible that they did in far-off and distant primitive times, but there is not a shred of evidence of it. They certainly did not put their ageing kings to death since the dawn of their own history. It seems to me that the *Śed*-festival was wholly Osirian in origin. Osiris, the great and peaceful king of the First Union of Egypt, was defeated and slain by a Set-king. But it was believed that he rose again from the dead, stronger, greater, and more powerful than ever. Later kings of Egypt, periodically, thinking to renew their life, strength, greatness, and power, as Osiris did, impersonated

[109] See Griffith, in JEA, 5 (1918), 61-3.

[110] Cf. Moret Royauté, chapter VIII.

[111] Petrie Royal Tombs, I, p. 22 ; but quite doubtful because of the number of such festivals in the reigns of Thutmose II and Rameses II.

[112] Cf. JEA, 21 (1935), 248 ; cf. also JEA, 5 (1918), 61-3.

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him, by using his symbols, insignia, and dress, in a great religious festival, in which they symbolically died, rose again, and were renewed like Osiris. So after the *ḥb-śd*, the king commenced, as it were, like Osiris, a new reign.[113]

The principal episodes in the *ḥb-śd* were : (1) The enthronement ; (2) The procession to the principal god of the temple ; (3) The eating of the sacrificial meal ; (4) The installation of the king's statue in the temple. One of the ritual acts in the rite was the erection of the Osirian symbol, the *ḏd*, an act which usually took place also at a royal coronation. The setting up of the Osirian *ḏd* was, therefore, intimately connected with the *ḥb-śd*. When in the *Śed*-festival the obelisk was set up, as was sometimes the case, it was an indication of the solarization of the rite. An important ritual act in the ceremony was a ritual dance in connection with the presentation of the *res sacrificii* and the dedication of the symbols, in which the musician-goddesses *mr.t* and *śʒd.t* played an important rôle.[114] The *ḥb-śd* seems also to have been celebrated for the gods and for the Osirian dead.

Another important festival was that of Opet, a New Year's event celebrated at Karnak and Thebes. It was the greatest of Amūn's feasts, and usually lasted twenty-four days. The most important part of the ceremony began with a sacrifice to Amūn in his temple at Karnak. Then began the great procession out of the temple, with the sacred barque which was transported to the Nile. The journey by river was then made to Luxor, where the ceremonial barque was transported from the landing into the Luxor temple of Mūt, consort of Amūn. A sacrifice to Mūt was then celebrated ; and finally a return was made to Karnak by the same route. All was accompanied by a rich, colourful, and detailed ritual.[115]

One of the oldest of Egyptian festivals was the New Year's feast, which began five days before the end of the old year, on the first of the five intercalary days, with which the year ended. This

[113] Cf. Moret, *La Mise à Mort du Dieu en Egypte*, Paris, 1927, *passim* ; on the contrary, see Wainwright, *The Sky-Religion in Egypt*, Cambridge, 1938, 20, 86 ; JEA, 16 (1930), 262.

[114] Kees Opfertanz, 104, 194 ff. ; Mar. Ab., I, pl. 30a ; Petrie Ehnasiya, pl. 20.

[115] See Wolf, *Das schöne Fest von Opet*, Leipzig, 1931, *passim* ; Wreszinski Atlas, *passim*. A shadowy survival of the feast of Opet may be seen in the modern birthday festivals of Mohammedan saints at Luxor and Qena (Hornell, *Man*, 38 (1938), No. 171. Cf. the New Year's Feast at Dendera (Drioton Fêtes).

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tpỉ rnp.t was a kind of All Souls day. As the feast of the Procession around the " White Wall " was celebrated on the first day of the first month it may have had some connection with the famous New Year's feast and also with the *ḥb-śd* (Sethe Urgeschichte, 219), but Kees (*op. cit.*, p. 513) does not think so. At any rate, the festival of the Procession around the Wall of Memphis celebrated the union of Upper and Lower Egypt.

A very ancient festival was that of the Worship of Horus, a great national feast in honour of the royal god Horus. It is recorded on the Palermo Stone five times for the first half of the First Dynasty and was celebrated every two years, with a great procession, perhaps from Abydos to Hierakonpolis.[116] There also was a feast of Horus at Edfu, in memory of his going to Upper Egypt (Sethe Urgeschichte, 141), which was celebrated on the first day of Mesorê, as well as that of Horus of the South and Horus of the North (ÄZ, 64 (1929), 163) ; and a festival of the Followers of Horus (*śmśw Ḥr*) as early as the First Dynasty.[117] The annual feast of Horus at Buto (cf. also the Feast of Buto of Arabia—Drioton Fêtes, 10), of a very late date, was in origin a festival of Waḏit, patroness of the city. It may have been this same Buto festival which was celebrated on the first of Pachons on the same day as the great feast of Min at Esneh (Pap Sallier, IV, XXIII, 6), indeed the two festivals may have been one and the same.[118] The Rekeḥ Feast seems to have been closely associated with Horus (BAR, I, 630 ; IV, 768), especially the Great Rekeḥ (*ʿ3.t rkḥ*), at which perhaps a burnt-offering was made, and which was celebrated on the ninth of Mechir. There apparently was also a festival of the birthday of Horus as early as Menes (Aḥa).[119] The scene above the decapitated bodies on the slate palette of Narmer has been thought to represent the festival of the Destruction of the Iwntiw, an important early festival as the Palermo Stone indicates, which may have celebrated a victory of a Horus-king of the predynastic period.[120]

There were coronation feasts (Urkunden, I, 83 ; BAR, I, 258), a feast of the Apparition of the king of Upper Egypt (Urkunden, I, 53, 6), and a whole calendar of royal festivals (PT 2117-18). There were numerous feasts of Osiris, which were connected with :

[116] See Bayer Religion, 417 ; BAR, I, 91-167.
[117] Petrie Royal Tombs, I, xvii, 26.
[118] Cf. Drioton, *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte*, 25 (1943), 7 ff.
[119] Bayer Religion, 408.
[120] Quibell Hierak, II, 42.

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(1) The death and burial of Osiris, and the succession of Horus; (2) The kingship of Osiris; and (3) The seasons of the agricultural year. These took place at different times and at various places. One of the greatest of them was the great festival in the month of Choiak, recorded on the walls of the temple of Dendera, the ceremonies of which lasted eighteen days, and set forth the nature, in dramatic form, of the death and resurrection of the god. There are splendid representations of the resurrection of Osiris. At this festival, as well as at one at Mendes (BD (Budge), p. 116), the *ḏd* of Osiris was ceremoniously set up. The Festival of Osiris which Plutarch assigns to the month Athyr (Hathor) would seem to be identical in substance with the one which the inscriptions at Dendera assign to the month of Choiak. There was a feast of Soker, which is mentioned on the Palermo Stone (BAR, I, 123); and a feast of the same god, which was celebrated on the 26th of Choiak, may have been originally a Memphite Osirian festival.[121] A feast of Thot is mentioned in a Fifth Dynasty inscription (BAR, I, 222); but much earlier than that, in the First Dynasty, a feast of Thot is referred to.[122] There were many festivals of Min and of all other important deities.[123] There were numerous local feasts, such as the feast of Osiris at Abydos, as well as the six mentioned by Herodotus, those of Bubastis, Busiris, Sais, Heliopolis, Buto, Paprêmis, and the Feast of the Valley at Thebes at the end of the year; there were many periodic feasts, such as the Wag feast, always on the 18th of the first month, as well as the regular winter, spring, and summer feasts (cf. Drioton Fêtes, 14-24); there were many minor festivals, early and late, such as the Feast of Amenophis I in the Valley of the Kings (Drioton Fêtes, 8); the feasts of the Nile, of Apis, Anubis, Serapis, Ptah, etc.[124]; and calendars of festivals were from time to time drawn up.[125]

If it is true, as Amiel has said, that "the efficacy of religion lies precisely in what is not rational" . . . and "mystery constitutes the

[121] Sethe Beiträge, 135 ff. In Wilson and Allen, *Medinet Habu IV, Festival Scenes of Ramses III*, Chicago, 1940, the great festivals of Soker and Min, especially of the time of Rameses III at Karnak, may be studied in full detail. The festival ceremonies of these two gods, of other periods also, are given for comparative purposes.

[122] Petrie Royal Tombs, I, pl. i.

[123] See Gauthier Min, *passim*; cf. also note 121 above.

[124] Cf. Budge Liturgy, 9 ff.; *passim*; Davies Puyemrê, 32; Junker Onurislegende, 117; Boylan Thoth, 136, n. 5; cf. Drioton Fêtes, 15.

[125] See Foucart, "Calendar (Egyptian)", in ERE.

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essence of worship ", then the religion of the ancient Egyptians was supremely efficacious, as they firmly believed it was, and worship in its most essential form was given by them throughout their long history to pantheons of divine and deified beings as mysterious and strange as the world of thought has ever contemplated.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE RELIGION OF THE PEOPLE

COMPARATIVELY little has been written or is known about popular religion, that is, the religion of the masses, of the simple, the poor, in ancient Egypt. This is due obviously to the fact that only the upper classes and the rich were in a position to create and possess things which were lasting and capable of being preserved for future generations. So that the remains of ancient Egyptian culture which modern scholars depend upon for the where-with-all to reconstruct the religious ideas of ancient Egypt are things which witness to the customs, manners, and ideas of the upper classes and the rich. Ancient Egyptian material and written remains are those of royalty, the court, officials, the great and wealthy ; and religious ideas which can be culled from them are naturally those of the official and upper-class religion. Here and there, and by inference, we are able to get a glimpse of what the religious ideas and practices of the common people were. But they are few even in comparison with what we know about the secular life of the masses. A book like Montet's *Les Scènes de la Vie privée dans les Tombeaux égyptiens de l'ancien Empire*, Strasbourg, 1925, pp. 429 ff., shows what can be done in the way of reconstructing an account of the secular life of ancient Egypt of the Old Kingdom, much of which has to do with the common people. But on account of the official stamp which came to be placed upon religion, and also because of the comparatively smaller part played by the common man in the external affairs of religion, comparatively little information about him has found its way upon the monuments, or in connection with the objects, which have been preserved to us. And even when these same monuments and objects contain helpful information, it is so closely interwoven with official religious ideas that the separation of them is usually a very precarious and uncertain operation. However, the few facts which we do possess, together with a certain amount of inference, enable us to present an outline of what most likely was the religious life among the masses in ancient Egypt.[1] And in general, it may be said, at the outset, that previous

[1] Cf. JEA, 3 (1916), 81 ff. ; Chronique, 1927, No. 4, 145 ; Wolf, *Individuum und Gemeinschaft in der ägyptischen Kultur*, Glückstadt, 1935 ; Shorter, *Everyday Life in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1932, 74 ff. ; Vandier Rel. Eg., 201-15, 220-21.

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to the time of the Twelfth Dynasty, roughly about 2000 B.C., practically nothing is known, with certainty, except by inference, anthropological and archaeological, about " the man in the street ". About official religion before 2000 B.C. a great deal is known, as we have already seen. Up to that date, as also after, but in different relationships and proportions, two great cults held the centre of the religious stage—that of Osiris, and that of Rē^{c}. Both were royal and official. But there was always something human, democratic, and popular about the Osirian cult. So that between the time of the Pyramid Texts, when the humanity of the cult of Osiris seemed to have begun to assert itself, and Twelfth Dynasty, religion in general and popular religion in particular became humanized. Ideas of the future, men's greatest concern, at that time, underwent a remarkable transformation. The blessed future, which was in the Pyramid Texts reserved for kings and nobles, now became a possibility for any man ; and now the poorest man in Egypt could, if he would, be identified, in the other world, with Osiris himself, and thus become a king—not merely " princes and princesses " in the words of the modern Salvation Army hymn, but kings and queens.

Not only royalty but also the commonest Egyptian individual loved and adored the gods. A popular devotion to the great deities always existed. This is made certain by the number of extant private stelas inscribed with prayers to them, as well as by the quantities of cheap votive figures of the gods which were dedicated in temples. But besides the greater deities, certain minor ones, such as Bes and Thueris, the Seven Hathors, Onuris, foreign deities such as Astarte, Anat, Baal, Kadesh, Resheph, animal gods, inanimate objects, deceased kings, in short, all kinds of deities, demons, and objects belonging to them were adored by the masses.[2] Even the ritualistic simplicity of the reform of Ikhnaton did not appeal to the people. The nobles were zealous in adopting the new faith, and although people were rewarded for joining it, the reform appealed to only a few, and the common man clung to his traditional beliefs and superstitions, the favourite deity being the jolly and care-free Bes.[3] So that when Ikhnaton died and the reaction set in, the people were glad to return to the worship of Osiris and to the enjoyment of all the Osirian privileges, or to the more stately worship of Amūn in the great official temples.

[2] Cf. CAH, II, 159 ; Erman Religion, 139 ff.

[3] Cf. JEA, 8 (1922), 48-82.

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From before the rise of the Twelfth Dynasty on Osiris was the most popular of all deities. The peasant lived and died believing in Osiris. As Osiris died and rose again to a blessed immortality so will other men. Whereas the worship of Rē^{c} and of others tended to be shut away in temples, that of Osiris became more and more the privilege of all, extended to the dead as well as to the living, in cemeteries, tombs, and shrines as well as in temples. As a result of this great religious transformation, the greatest in the whole life of ancient Egypt, the masses were admitted and initiated into the Osirian mysteries, which conferred immortality, a triumph for Osiris and his democratic cult, when men believed that to be buried near Osiris in Abydos was the greatest of all earthly blessings. So by the Eighteenth Dynasty although the cult of the sun-god was still official, that of Osiris was established popularly and universally in all the land. In this great popular cult, the mighty sun-god Rē^{c} was given the task of illuminating with his presence the nightly hours of the dark underworld, while even kings in heaven were transformed into Osirian beings. Nevertheless, the sun-god remained powerful until the Assyrian supremacy, especially as Amūn or Amūn-Rē^{c}.

While there is no indication that the common people were ever admitted to worship in the holy of holies or in the hypostyle hall, there is no proof that they were ever forbidden access to other places in the temple free to the use of worship by the upper classes. So far as we know, the priests and sacred ministers only, as a rule, had access to the holy of holies. To the religious processions and other ceremonies in the hypostyle hall, there was probably no admittance, ordinarily, except to the sacred ministers and their attendants, and possibly to some other individuals for special reasons. But there is nothing to prove that the masses any more than the upper classes were actually debarred from entrance to the great courts of the temple. The chances are that ordinarily the courts were filled largely by the nobility and upper classes, but not as their legal, exclusive right, but, no doubt, due to custom, deference to their dignity and wealth, and to the humility and timidity of the uncouth, poorly-dressed tradesman, peasant, servant, or slave. The simple man may well have thought that he had no place in a grand temple, and so made his wants and desires known to simpler gods elsewhere. And so there were offering stands outside the great temples; there were wayside shrines and chapels; there were statues of gods in tombs; there were simple shrines at

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home, where were figures of deities ; and there were all kinds of domestic ceremonies, such as birth, marriage, death, where gods and deified creatures and things could be worshipped. Even in the elaborate temple ceremonies, it must have often happened that a peasant or servant, as chorister, server, acolyte, or other attendant had his appointed place. And it must have been the legitimate ambition of many a humble individual to bring a gift, however small, to the supreme god in the city's temple, and pray to him in the words of a painter to the great god Amūn : " Thou, Amūn, art the lord of him who is silent, one who cometh when the poor crieth . . . Thou givest breath to him who is wretched, and thou deliverest me who am in bondage . . . Though the servant is disposed to commit sin, yet is the lord disposed to be merciful. The Lord of Thebes passeth not a whole day in wrath. His wrath is finished in a moment, and nought is left."[4] At any rate, on feast days when statues of the gods were carried in procession outside the temples and when they were exposed in chapels of repose on the way, they received the adoration of all, small as well as great.

It was the Osirian eschatology which particularly appealed to the masses. In the past, the *ka* had manifested itself only in the case of the king ; now everyone joined his *ka* after death. The deceased, who attained to everlasting life, became in every respect like the divine inhabitants of heaven. They ate the same meat ; they drank the same drink ; they wore the same apparel ; and they were insured for all eternity. Long before the Middle Kingdom, the individual had wished to ascend to the " great god " ; to go to the " beautiful meadows " ; to be conducted by the great god to " the west " ; to become " a glorified one " ; to have " a thousand loaves, a thousand mugs of beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand geese, and a thousand of all good, clean things " ; to receive in reality all the numerous things represented on the walls of tombs and graves ; to have servants, male and female, to wait on him ; but it was not before the Eighteenth Dynasty that it was believed that the individual could decide for himself where he would spend his life after death, whether in the boat of Rē^{c} with Rē^{c}, or in the kingdom of Osiris, and in spite of all the attractions of the former, the average individual elected to cast in his lot with Osiris, the " good being ", to become an Osiris.[5] This choice was made in spite of the

[4] Erman-Blackman Literature, 311.

[5] Whether male or female in this life ; later it was thought that a woman would become a Hathor.

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fact that he was aware of the seriousness of the ordeal of judgment which he would have to face—a judgment before forty-two judges, with his heart in the balance over against the feather of truth, with Thot, the scribe of the gods there, and the terrible monster ready to devour him if condemned. But there is Horus also, the faithful and valiant son ; and there is Osiris, who died and rose again, the assurance of his own resurrection to eternal life. He elects the Osirian judgment and the Osirian future, for Osiris is the people's god, and he can trust Osiris.

It was perhaps more than a mere coincidence that it was during the Middle Kingdom, the period of the great awakening of moral consciousness, and of the rights of the individual, in ancient Egypt, that the masses came out so solidly for Osiris, who was not only a god of truth, but also a god of truth as applied to the individual whether noble or peasant. Rē^{c} was a great " god of truth " ; but it was more as a god of royal truth that the ordinary man thought of him. So the righteousness of Osiris became a great power of righteousness among the people ; the death of Osiris was a kind of justification for all, who were thereby " justified " ; and the judgment of Osiris was an assurance of the eternal reign of justice and righteousness in the world to come. Moreover, the practical and obvious advantages of the famous mortuary rites were extended, in the religion of Osiris, to the dead of every class of society. All were mummified like a king, on the model of Osiris ; all received as equipment for the next world, the clothing, crowns, head gear, and weapons of gods and kings ; and all received royal and divine honours. The poor man's burial place may have been a simple grave, or hole in the ground, but his faith was like a bird with wings which could soar far above all such limitations, and live the life of a king, a god, an Osiris. Indeed, his relatives and friends treated him as such. At the end of the funeral rites, they carried him off like a king and god, crying, " Lo, the god comes ! "[6] Finally, having departed to his *ka*, he became the object of his relatives' devotion, for a large part of the practical religion of an ancient Egyptian, peasant or nobleman, consisted in supplying the needs of the *ka* of deceased relatives.

[6] Indeed, in the late periods of Egyptian religion, scenes are depicted on the walls of temples which formerly were made strictly to refer to royal persons (cf. Drioton, " Cyrille d'Alexandrie et l'ancienne Religion égyptienne ", Le Caire, 1947, p. 9).

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CHAPTER XXII

MYSTERIES

IN studying the question of the existence and nature of religious mysteries in ancient Egypt, care must be taken to distinguish between a drama and a mystery play. Drama, in essence, is imitated and represented action ; it imitates and represents the thing which someone did (cf. δρᾶμα, "a thing done"). The imitation and representation are done by persons, and the imitated and represented acts are believed to have been performed by others. Living beings imitating and representing the acts of other living beings make drama. A mystery play is a subdivision of drama. All mystery plays are drama ; but not all dramas are mystery plays. A mystery play consists of rites and practices, revealed only to initiates, sacred objects shown, formulas pronounced and ritual acts performed, with a view to bettering the worshippers in this life and assuring them of life to come, through union with the particular deity thus worshipped.

The drama, in all its essential forms, as we know it, with its dramatis personae, its various parts, its stage directions, its dialogues, etc., is found in Egyptian literature at an earlier date than in any other known literature extant. Plays were even written in such a way as to show the speakers, the responses, the changes of scene, and very often the action to be performed was drawn artistically in the manuscript, in the form of illustrations. Sometimes between the speeches a narrative was interspersed, recited by a lector, which performed much the same function as the captions of a cinematograph film. The oldest drama in the world has been assigned to about the time of Menes or to that of the Thinite dynasties. It is the famous *Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie*, discussed above in chapters I and XVI. It was written to be used at certain festivals, and is of a semi-theological and semi-philosophical nature, accounting for the origin of all things, including the moral order of the world, in Ptah of Memphis, as opposed to the teaching of Heliopolis. The second oldest and greatest of all extant dramatic texts from ancient Egypt was written during the Middle Kingdom (see above chapter I and n. 14), representing in dramatic

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form the accession and coronation of Sesostris I, second king of the Twelfth Dynasty. The papyrus contains not only the text of the play arranged in dramatic form, but also pictures, illustrating various scenes in the representation. Another drama of the Twelfth Dynasty, now lost, is preserved in outline on the memorial stone of Ikhernofret, an officer of Sesostris III, now in the Berlin Museum (No. 1204). But this drama, like most others in ancient Egypt was also, as we shall see, a mystery play.[1]

Long before the dawn of history in ancient Egypt, as elsewhere, drama existed in exceedingly simple forms, sometimes in an unessential embellishment of a religious dance, and sometimes in ritual and pure mummery, accompanied by words, in which an attempt was made to imitate the gods. From these earliest days until the mysteries, miracles, and moralities of the Mediaeval period, the drama, everywhere, Egypt included, was largely religious in character. The modern drama is, however, largely secular. Thus in ancient Egypt, actors often represented gods and goddesses, scenes were taken from the lives of the gods, whose acts and words were imitated. This was particularly true of incidents in the lives of such deities as Osiris, Isis, Rē^{c}, Horus, Set, etc.

Classical writers, such as Herodotus (II, 170), Plutarch (IO, 27), and Jamblichus (*de Mysteriis*) refer to mysteries about Osiris, and Apuleius refers to ones about Isis, but it appears that all great Egyptian deities had their mysteries. There is a sense in which the *Book of Opening of the Mouth*, the *Book of the Liturgy of Funerary Offerings*, and even the *Book of the Dead* were mystery plays. Herodotus, Plutarch, and Jamblichus believed that Egyptian priests were in the possession of secret doctrines, unknown to the laity, which were referred to in the mystery plays. That there were real mystery plays there is no doubt, some of which we shall have occasion, briefly to describe.

There are two words which are usually translated by "mystery", the word *šṯȝ*, something hidden, secret, unknown, and un-understandable; and the word *bs*, which is more strictly confined to religious mystery. The two are found together, as *bs šṯȝ*, in reference to a god, "a divine being". The phrase *šṯȝ.wt nṯr* means "divine mysteries"; but *šṯȝ.w ȝḫ.wt* means "hidden properties". It was the *bs.w* and *šṯȝ.wt nṯr* which formed the content of the mystery plays in ancient Egypt.

[1] Cf. Drioton, "Le Théâtre égy.", *Revue du Caire*, No. 38, January 1942.

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In the Osirian mystery plays, of which there must have been many, the events of the life, death, mummification, resurrection, and enthronement of Osiris as king of the underworld and god of the dead were enacted.[2] The mystery play of Osiris of the Twelfth Dynasty on the memorial stone of Ikhernofret[3] was annually performed at Abydos, and must have lasted a number of days. According to the preserved outline, it consisted of eight acts : First, there was a procession in which the ancient death-god, Wepwawet, made straight the way for Osiris. In the second, Osiris himself appeared in his sacred barque. The voyage of the vessel was retarded by actors dressed as Set and his fiends, enemies of Osiris. A combat ensued in which wounds were given and received. This was the third act. The fourth depicted the going out of Thot, in search of the divine victim's body. The fifth contained the ceremonies in preparation for the burial of Osiris. The sixth scene depicted the march to the desert shrine beyond Abydos to lay Osiris in his tomb. A great battle between the avenging son Horus and the god Set formed the seventh scene. The last was the resurrection of Osiris and his triumphal entry into the temple of Abydos, his eternal home. This play was called " the ceremony of the golden chamber for the mystery of the Lord of Abydos ". The actors were priests and mimics, Ikhernofret played the part of Horus, and priests personified Anubis and Thot. Many people were present, and especially pilgrims, to witness this great Egyptian " passion play ", for the mystery plays were open to all, and performed in the spacious halls of the temple. Such mystery plays as this were celebrated not for the sole benefit of the deceased king, but also for the eternal resurrection of all worshippers of Osiris. These mysteries of Osiris were calculated to confer immortality upon those who were initiated into them. In these great mystery plays, the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty caused the highest officials of the court to play, at the expense of the state, the death, resurrection, and triumph of Osiris, culminating in the elevation of a model of the body of Osiris and the placing of his head upon it.

The temples of Dendera, Edfu and Philae contain in script and picture a description of the Osirian mysteries as they were performed annually in one or other of these great sanctuaries : (1) The body of Osiris was cut into sixteen pieces ; (2) The making of a figure of

[2] Cf. Gressmann, *Tod und Auferstehung des Osiris*, AO, 23, Hft. 3 ; Zimmermann AR, 21, 35 ff. ; cf. above, pp. 161-2.

[3] See Schaefer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos*, Leipzig, 1904.

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Khenti-Imentiw ; (3) The making of a figure of Soker ; (4) Various minor ceremonies.[4] Each of these episodes was made up of numerous acts, and the whole play was very elaborate. Apparently this play was not open to the public, but was performed partly in the holy of holies in the temple, and partly in the tomb. When Osiris was re-made and woven together a second time, priests watched the body all day and all night, the guard being changed every hour.[5] This watching formed a very important part of the mysteries ; and during it actors, impersonating Isis and Nephthys, made lamentations over the body of Osiris as he lay on his bier. As at Abydos, the play was meant to confer immortality upon those who were initiated into the mysteries, and perhaps also by sympathetic powers to strengthen nature in production. The famous *Śed*-festival (see chapter XX) was also in all essentials a great Osirian mystery play.[6]

The Osirian mystery play was performed at Philae, perhaps as late as the Fifth Century of the Christian era, near which at an unidentified place, called by the Greeks " Abaton ", Osiris was supposed to be buried.[7] It was during the mystery play at Philae, not now extant, and at Dendera that the *Songs of Isis and Nephthys*,[8] as well as the *Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys*, were repeated by two actors impersonating the goddesses Isis and Nephthys. Mystery plays were performed at other places, such as Busiris, Heliopolis, Letopolis, Buto, etc., and Herodotus (II, 171) says that at Sais the Egyptians used to perform at night " the passion play which they call their mysteries ".

Very much like the above two literary pieces is a poem recently published by Drioton,[9] which formed part of a Horus mystery play. The discovery of this poem confirms the statement made by classical writers that there were in ancient times mysteries of Horus. Indeed, Epiphanius, *Expositio fidei*, III, 2, 12 (Hopfner Font, 608-9), seems to show that most Egyptian gods had their mysteries. Unfortunately this is all we know of the mystery plays of Horus,

4 Denderah, IV, pls. 35-9 ; cf. the texts at Edfu and the illustrations at Dendera and Philae.

5 Junker Stundenwachen, *passim*.

6 Cf. Moret, *Mystères égyptiens*, Paris, 1913, chapter I.

7 Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, Wien, 1913.

8 Faulkner, " The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus, I, A. *The Songs of Isis and Nephthys* ", JEA, 22 (1936), 121-40.

9 Drioton, " Une Scène des Mystères d'Horus ", RE, 2 (1929), 172-99.

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although he often occupied an important place in those of Osiris and Isis, and perhaps also in that of Neit at Sais.

Both Plotinus and Firmicus refer to mysteries of Isis, and Plutarch says that Isis herself instituted very holy mysteries in which there were to be images, representations, and acted scenes (IO, 27). During the Ptolemaic Period Isis had gradually become the great saviour-goddess. However, Egyptian revelations about salvation had already penetrated into Greece in the form of Eleusinian mysteries and Orphic rites. During the Roman Period these same revelations reached the Roman world in the form of the mysteries of Isis. Not only in Egypt, in the temples of Dendera, Esneh, Edfu, and Philae, were these mysteries performed, but in Italy also where the most famous centre was the Iseum at Pompeii, where Isis had numerous devotees and where her mysteries were taught and practiced.

The worship of Isis, and communion with her, was daily, and began before dawn. On festivals the main service took the form of a drama of divine sacrifice, the passion of Osiris. Priests carefully trained in mystic theology, liturgics, and symbolism, accompanied by attendants, all clad in appropriate vestments, came into the presence of the ancient deities, Osiris (and or) Serapis, Isis, Horus, and others, the faithful being in front of the sanctuary. The first great sacred act consisted in the exposing to the view of the assembled congregation the sacred image of Isis. Before the image libations of holy Nile water were poured out, and the faithful were sprinkled with it. Then the sacred fire was kindled, after which the high priest awakened the goddess in an address uttered in the sacred Egyptian language. A burnt offering was then presented, accompanied by singing and music ; and finally the goddess was ceremoniously clothed, adorned, and adored. A second service took place in the afternoon, which consisted chiefly of prayer and meditations before the images and symbols of the gods, and which closed with music and antiphonal singing. A third service, quite brief, ended the day. The sanctuary was purified, the statue of Isis was disrobed, the curtains of her sanctuary closed, and the goddess was left in mystic solitude till the next morning. In addition to these three daily services the devotees spent long hours in the presence of the goddess.

On the two great festivals of autumn and spring, the death and resurrection of Osiris was the central thought, and it was expressed with all the symbolism, mystery, music, singing, ritual, and

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pageantry, so well-understood by the ancient Egyptians, all of which was calculated to stimulate the deepest religious emotions, and fan the flames of ecstatic joy. The death and resurrection of Osiris, realistically represented, created a situation of intense grief and lamentation, of joy and exultation. Such a festival ended in processions, banquets, and carnivals, which greatly appealed to the popular imagination. The resurrection of Osiris was a guarantee to the hearts of the faithful that they too would rise again to a life of immortal bliss.

To become a devotee in these mysteries, long hours and days of study and meditation had to be spent, in which he was taught to hear and see secret things, before being ready to receive from the high priest the secret and ineffable words of mystic meaning. He was then, after appropriate ablutions and fasting, robed in sacred garments, and thus was prepared for his initiation. In the course of his preparation, the neophyte received by a symbolic baptism, the cleansing of his soul ; by a symbolic death, the death of his soul unto sin ; by a symbolic re-birth, the beginning of a higher and purer life ; by a symbolic life of darkness in his cell the illumination of the mind by revealed truth ; and by a symbolic transformation into an Osiris or a Rē^{c}, the sanctification and deification which made him a god indeed.

In short, mysteries formed a very important feature in the cult of every deity—some were well understood, while others possessed a significance which only the *ḫri-ḥb* knew. Indeed, each priesthood would seem to have had its own special mysteries. These mystery-cults awakened in the devotee personal religious experiences of a conversion type. Furthermore, Egyptian writings are full of mystic material—the chapters or spells of the Book of the Dead and of the Coffin Texts ; the rubrics of these chapters or spells ; repetitions in prayers, such as those in BD (Budge), 19 ; and the care taken to embellish writing with cryptographic fancies all illustrate the important part mysticism played in the religions of ancient Egypt.

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CHAPTER XXIII

MAGIC

THE Egyptian word, which Egyptologists translate into the English word " magic ", is *ḥk3*, the exact Egyptian sense and connotation of which is at present unknown. The ancient Egyptians personified and deified the idea expressed by the word and made Ḥeka a god, just as Maat (*m3ᶜ.t*, " truth ") was made a goddess, and Sia (*śi3*, " intelligence ") was made a god.

To the primitive way of thinking, whether in Egypt or elsewhere, all relationships between living beings in the world were susceptible of being put into either one of two classes, ordinary relations or uncanny ones, that is, ordinary or mysterious and magical ones. Primitive man was naturally led to make this classification by lack of the knowledge of natural (and divine) laws, which resulted in uncertainty and fear ; so he attempted to accomplish purposes either by ordinary means or by uncanny, mysterious, magical ones. These magical means were called in ancient Egypt *ḥeka*. It was thought to be a divine power, a faculty or attribute of the gods, and an essential part of all divine beings, without which a god could not be a god. It was like the divine Wisdom of the Old Testament. It was something which a man may acquire and use ; a divine potency, the use of which was reasonable and legitimate in attempting to obtain all those things which could not be procured by ordinary means. The ancient Egyptians believed that Rēᶜ created this divine potency, this means which they called *ḥeka*, " as an arm to defend them (men) against evil fortunes ".[1]

Much has been written about the relationship between religion and magic, a great deal of which has been entirely beside the point. Some would derive religion from magic ; others argue for the opposite, while others would see in religion a failure of magic.[2]

[1] *Instructions for King Merikerēᶜ*, JEA, 1 (1914), 20 ff., § 28.

[2] See Lexa Magic ; Gardiner, in ERE, VIII, 262 f. ; Budge Fetish, chapter III ; ARW, 32, 185 ff. ; Hopfner, *Griechisch-Aegyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, Leipzig, 1921 ; Vandier Rel. Eg., 192-201, 216 ; and in general, Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2nd edition, *passim*.

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So far as the Egyptians in antiquity were concerned, religion and magic were not two separate things, any more than are religion and prayer. Magic was an aspect, an agency, of religion. Just as prayer has been called " a faculty of the soul ", so magic was thought by the Egyptians to be a divine faculty, which man might acquire and use as an agency in religion. And again as prayer may be, and often is, abused, so that we may speak of efficacious prayer and useless or even harmful prayer ; so there was good and helpful magic, according to Egyptian thought, and there was harmful magic, that is " white " and " black " magic. Black magic in ancient Egypt, as elsewhere and at all times, was considered criminal and unlawful.[3] In ancient Egypt the same person might be magician as well as priest, as a priest he addressed prayers to god, and offered sacrifices ; as a magician he also tried by word and deed to bring god to his way of thinking. The only difference lay in the method, and in a tendency in magic, because of its very nature of mysteriousness, more easily to degenerate into circumvention and trickery.

It is true that the religion of ancient Egypt, as is also true of the religion of all primitive and early peoples, as well as of modern ignorant people, was highly magical, but not essentially so as the numerous beautiful hymns and prayers, extant in Egyptian literature, prove. Indeed, illegal magic was always frowned upon, and Ikhnaton prohibited all magic because of its abuse. At the same time normal and legitimate *ḥeka* was a recognized religious agency, and after the rise of Christianity in Egypt earnest and reasoned attempts were made to find a place in the new religion for the old Egyptian *ḥeka*.[4] So that although Gnosticism failed as a recognized philosophy of certain aspects of Christian thought and practice, magic, which was far older than Egyptian civilization, automatically found a place in Christianity, and is with us, much transformed, of course, but the same in purpose, even to this day.

In ancient Egypt, the use and purpose of magic was manifold. By it Rē^{c} was thought to have created heaven, earth, and the underworld ; by it Rē^{c} was able to transmute his name into a material body, making his name equivalent to himself, so that it was thought that he who could control the name of a god could control the god himself ; by it the Egyptian thought that his king was made divine

3 Cf. Budge Osiris, II, chapter 21. The practice of (black) magic was considered an abomination (e.g. BAR, IV, 454-6).

4 Amélineau, *Essai sur le Gnosticism*, Paris, 1887.

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by the gods ; by it he thought he could become superior to the gods and could control them, and could even cause the whole order of the universe to be upset (BD (Budge), 65) ; by it he was sure of protection against a thousand dangers ; and by it he could minister successfully to his simplest, everyday needs, even successfully to bring a bone forth from his throat. No doubt, magic was not always sure to produce results. Thus, already in the Old Kingdom, a king's access to heaven was conditioned by a judgment of his actions before the tribunal of Rē^{c} ; on the other hand, belief in the efficacy of magic grew so, that ultimately it dominated the whole body of mortuary faith and practice as we see it in all the funerary literature of ancient Egypt, more especially in the *Book of the Dead*.

Apparently there was in ancient Egypt from earliest times a class of professional magicians, and there were even specialists in the different branches, thus, the *ḫrp śrḳ.t* was a class connected with the goddess Serḳet and the employment of scorpion-stings.[5] The title of a class of powerful magicians was *rḫi-'iḫ.t*, " one who knows things ". If a magician knew the names of gods with influence over certain persons or countries, he could make them serve him and obey him. Sometimes a magician assumed the characteristics and name of a god, and thus was endowed with the god's power. At court, magicians, as a rule were very powerful, and sometimes a king prided himself on being, like Thot, a great magician Nectanebus, the last native king of Egypt was reputed to be a great magician, and so was a son of Rameses II. Many priests were also magicians. Indeed, all priests were potentially magicians. The aim of most of the priesthoods of Egypt was to acquire and possess the knowledge of magic. The great ritual priest, the *ḫri-ḥb*, was also a great magician, because of his great knowledge. The magician was the man of science of his time, and though some were mere charlatans and impostors, there is no reason to think that they did not take themselves and their work with all seriousness. They believed that their profession was a high and honourable one, and as a rule, no doubt, they tried to make themselves worthy of it.

Some deities were renowned as great magicians, and some were especially expert against all evil influences, such as Osiris, Isis, and Horus. As we have already seen, *ḥeka* itself was personified and deified as a god. He was a god already in the Old Kingdom,[6] and

[5] See Gardiner, in PSBA, 1917, 31-44.

[6] Mar Mast, B. 4 ; ÄZ, 65 (1930), 83.

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later had his statues like other gods.[7] But the great god of learning, writing, ritual, was Thot, the great master of the use of magical names and formulae. His connection with magic was very ancient, there being traces in the Old Kingdom of special and magical gifts being ascribed to him.[8] In later times, he was reputed to be the inventor of magic spells, and in the famous judgment scene of Osiris it was Thot who supplied the suppliant with necessary words.

The great goddess of magic was Isis, who possessed the secrets of the gods, and even succeeded in learning the secret name of Rē^{c}. She raised Osiris from the dead, so it was believed by some, and did many other mighty deeds by the power of her magic. Horus inherited great magical powers from his mother, and had the reputation of being the perfect magician,[9] and magicians, in late times, identified themselves with him.[10] In magic Horus was represented with the heads of Bes and other deities ;[11] and magical amulets, and cippi of him used in magic, were very popular from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty on.[12] In magical formulae, Horus was used for favourable things and Set for the reverse.[13] Khonsu was also a magician-god, and was sent abroad to heal the Princess of Bekhten.[14] There were other magician-deities, such as, for example, the scorpion-goddess, Serḳhet, especially in late times. One of the most interesting of these late gods of magic was Abraxas, a Gnostic god. He appeared on magic amulets with the head of a cock, or of a lion, with the body of a man, and legs as serpents, terminating in scorpions. In his right hand he grasped a club or a flail, and in his left hand was a round or oval shield.[15] He was called also Yâh, Adonai, and Sabaoth. Some scholars take the name to be a Hebrew word הַבְּרָכָה, "the blessing"; but it may be a corruption of the Hebrew הַבְּרָכָה דִּבְּרָה, "pronounce the blessing", which still seems to survive in the modern magical formula *abracadabra*.

7 Piankoff, "Une Statuette du Dieu Ḥeka", Mélanges Maspero, I, 349-52.
8 Cf. Boylan Thoth, 133 f.
9 See Piankoff, *op. cit.*, 351 ; cf. Suys in *Orientalia*, III (1934), 68.
10 Hopfner, Demot. Zauberp., AOr, 7 (1935), 9, n. 4, XV, 10-12.
11 Erman Religion, figs. 125, 126.
12 Cf. Wijngaarden and Stricker, "Magische stèles" (Oud. Med., Nieuwe Reeks, XXII, 1941, 6-38).
13 Pap Mag Vatic, *Orientalia*, 3 (1934), 3-27, III, 5, IV, 1.
14 Budge Legends, 52.
15 Cf. Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions*, London, 1930, 208, and fig. 1.

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Magicians worked largely by means of formulae, words, drawings or pictures, and acts. Formulae were believed to have the power to resist or expel the influence of malicious spirits, as well as to charm and to persuade benevolent ones. The magician had at his disposal formulae for the control of gods, nature, and men and of all conditions and phases of life; for defense and for attack; for immediate and for deferred action; and to protect his own life and that of his clients. The idea of a magic formula, perhaps grew out of the idea of the power of the spoken *word*. It was not only at the beginning of the universe that the word was creative. It has never ceased to have power with gods, men, and things. It was the word which was thought to create events (cf. PT 1159-60). Even the food of the gods is "spoken by Geb" (PT 162). Thought expressed in word is the means whereby Ptah created the world, according to the ancient teaching of Memphis.[16] Out of this idea of the magic power of the spoken word developed the idea of the power of the written word, an idea which still obtains. Hence, among the Egyptians, the magic value of the *Book of the Dead*, of texts written out on pieces of papyrus, of amulets with phrases and words written on them, and of all books in general. This faith in the written word has been the fortunate cause of the discovery of many of our most valuable texts, for the Egyptians provided their dead with books written on rolls of papyrus and placed with the body in the coffin. These books became sacred, canonical, and magical. And so there are innumerable references in Egyptian literature to books which were thought to have magical power, "Book of Magical Protection of Osiris", Thot's "Book of Magic", "Book of Knowing Evolutions of Rēᶜ", etc. A like importance was attached to the knowledge of names. Nothing was thought to exist until it was named—inversely, a man could be killed by the annihilation of his name. If the magical name of a god was known, the god could be controlled. In early Christian times in Egypt much use was made of this idea, and all kinds of strange names were magically employed. It was believed, at all times in ancient Egypt that if a man knew the name of a god or demon, and addressed him by the name, he was bound to answer him, and to do whatever he wished. The possession of the knowledge of the name of a man, enabled his neighbour to do him good or harm. The ancient Egyptians also believed that it was possible to give life to inscribed and carved words and pictures by means of magic formulae. Thus,

[16] Erman Memph. Theol., 93.

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an inscribed or carved picture of an animal or man could be made to work for or against one's fellow man. Thus, also, pictures of gods could become living gods; meat, fowl, loaves, fruit, wine, clothing, etc., drawn or named on the walls of tombs and graves could come to life and appear as real things for the use of the deceased; and on the pronunciation of the proper formula, the dead himself came forth to enjoy the gifts. And similar formulae guaranteed to the deceased automatic triumph in the next world, where he would be provided with words of power, sail over the heaven with Rē^{c} in his boat, and enjoy the company of Osiris and the cycle of divine beings.

Next in importance to the spoken or written word in magic came the magical act—the evil glance, ceremonial passes, and especially, in an imitative way, the manufacture of forms and figures. Thus, a magician in the reign of Khufu, made, by means of magic spells, one half of the water in a lake to lift itself up and to place itself on the other half; another Old Kingdom magician made a wax figure of a great crocodile, which, when it was thrown in the water, became a living crocodile; another cut off the head of a goose, and then united it to its body, when the goose appeared unharmed. Such wonders were performed by means of magical spells and incantations. The Pyramid Texts, the Coffin Texts, the Book of the Dead, and other religious texts are full of spells—spells for averting death, spells proclaiming the righteousness of the deceased, to preserve a mummy, for binding it in pure cloth, spells for rain (like prayers for rain, and quite as effective !), spells for lighting a candle. Indeed, all the ordinary processes of domestic, social, and economic life were controlled by spells. They were also brought to bear upon the hereafter, where by their means tiny figures of men could become living servants to work for their fortunate masters. And in defence, the same spells could effectively control lions, snakes, and other wild and dangerous creatures, and even could call up, like Aladdin, genii, like Set or Apophis, capable of coercing even the mighty Rē^{c} himself.[17]

A characteristically Egyptian conception, as we have seen, is the idea of magic potency inherent in the image of things. Hence the ushabtiu-figures, model boats, meat and loaves. Hence, also, the numberless amulets and charms; the eye of Horus, which brought strength, vigour, protection, and safety; the scarab, giver of eternity; the *ʿnḫ*, sign of life; the heart (*ʾib*) amulet;

[17] Cf. Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, London, 1899, chapter IV.

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the two-fingers of Horus ; the lizard ; plants and flowers (such as the *snnw*, powerful against Set) ; the buckle of Isis ; bracelets ; and many others.[18]

Fig. 112
SOME AMULETS

In the performance of magical acts of all sorts, certain days were lucky, others were unlucky. This particularly applied to the time for taking an oath, for lifting a curse, and for pronouncing a malediction.

The sphere of the magician extended also to prophecy. For example, the same Old Kingdom magician, who beheaded the goose and restored it to life again, correctly predicted the downfall of the dynasty of the king in whose service, as a magician, he was.[19] He gave oracles,[20] and interpreted dreams.[21] In prayer, it is always difficult, even with us, to tell where it ends and magic begins. Indeed, in an ancient Egyptian sense, at any rate, magic and prayer were about the same. Prayers like magic were meant to please and persuade the gods. On the one hand magic like prayer often was thought to make up for the lack of goodness ; while, on the other hand, it became an agent for moral ends, detecting moral evil, when moral issues arose.[22] However, the ancient Egyptian, as a rule considered magical acts more powerful than prayerful words, so that the magic of the priest was more popular than his prayers.

Finally, in ancient Egypt magic and science were not differentiated. Magic was science.[23] When, in the treatment of sickness a magical act was efficacious, magic became medicine. Indeed, it was out of such acts that medical science ultimately developed. So that the same ancient Egyptian word which means " charm-man ", " amulet-man ", means also physician, and just as in the

[18] Budge, *op. cit.*, chapter II.

[19] See Pap Westcar, *passim* ; cf. Lange, *Prophezeiungen eines aegy. Weisen*, Berlin, 1903 ; Gardiner, in JEA, 1 (1914), 100 ff.

[20] Erman Religion, 154-6, 316, 337 ; AE, 1921, III, 1933, 62 ; JEA, 12 (1926), 176.

[21] Erman Religion, 312, 388.

[22] See BD, chapter 30.

[23] Erman Religion, 308.

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case of magic and prayer, so with magic and medicine, it always was, and still sometimes is, difficult to tell when the one ends and the other begins. Magic as medicine was chiefly—but not always preventive. Its purpose was to avert disease, and it was very often believed that the spell of magic made the operation of medicine much more certain, and in spitting,[24] then, as also sometimes in modern times, magic and medicine combine in the desire and attempt to heal. In short, the magician combined the offices of chaplain and "leech" in a mediaeval lord's establishment, just as a missionary now very often must be both priest and physician. The ancient Egyptian magician, however, seemed to have "had the edge" on the priest, if that were possible, for he could easily turn his patient into Horus and the patient's ailments into Set, and let them fight it out, knowing full well—or believing, at any rate—that the result would be the same as that of the famous struggle between these two gods.[25]

[24] Cf. Breasted Development, 77; BD (Theban), chapter 102.

[25] Pap Edwin Smith, I, 220. The same is true in all magical representations of "Horus on the crocodile"—the patient is Horus; his ailment is the crocodile.

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CHAPTER XXIV

MORALS

ANCIENT Egyptian sages never constructed a philosophy of morals, a system of ethics. The reconstruction of ethics, as a science of morals, of an ancient people, is perhaps impossible. But the subject matter of morals—habits of life in regard to right and wrong conduct—can be gleaned from their extant literature ; and it can be classified in the light of what was considered right and wrong conduct by the people and time under consideration. Now, in a study of Egyptian morals, as of morals in general, we shall be dealing with the Egyptian ideas of goodness, truth, justice, righteousness, purity, and faithfulness, as well as with those of evil, falsehood, injustice, wickedness, impurity, and faithlessness.

A search for the origin of all moral ideas leads far back into prehistoric times. But we know that by the beginning of history, the Egyptians habitually differentiated between good and evil, calling them " what is loved " and " what is hated ",[1] which later were expressed by the terms " right " and " wrong ", " good " and " evil ". But just what constituted the " good " and the " evil " of the ancient Egyptians, no doubt, was quite different from that which we should consider their content. The Egyptians apparently considered " good " to be that which was pleasing to the gods, and " evil " that which displeased them ; while we should be inclined to say, " good " is that which makes for human progress, and " evil " that which impedes it. It is quite clear that the ancient Egyptians based their moral distinctions upon what they considered the will of the gods to have been. We do the same. That which their gods willed was " good " ; that which they disapproved was " evil ". This worked out in practice to be : That which was customary, legal, was right ; and that which was opposed to custom, illegal, was wrong ; because by custom and law the will of the gods was expressed. Furthermore, the ancient Egyptians thought that the gods willed justice, righteousness, truth, goodness, purity, faithfulness ; but the Egyptian idea of these virtues may have

[1] Sethe Memph. Theol., § 57.

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been quite different from ours. This we shall discover according as our study proceeds. And, finally, there is, and has always been a wide gap between the ideal and the real, between teaching and practice. This we shall note, remembering, however, that ideals are a good indication as to what is considered best and what the aim in moral living should be.

Our sources for a study of ancient Egyptian morals, though fragmentary, are quite extensive, and most of them can be fairly well dated, so that the course of moral thinking can be followed without any serious interruption from the rise of the historic period to the very end of Egyptian civilization. These sources include, in general, historical, biographical, and business inscriptions, legal documents, and a great amount of religious and moral material.

The most important sources for the Old Kingdom are the Pyramid Texts and other religious inscriptions,[2] historical and biographical inscriptions,[3] and legal texts ;[4] for the Middle Kingdom, the Coffin Texts and other religious and moral inscriptions,[5] as well as historical and biographical texts,[6] and narratives ;[7] and for the later periods, the various recensions of the Book of the Dead, and many other mortuary texts,[8] already noted above, moral material,[9] much religious poetry and many prayers,[10] as well as historical texts, biographies, and narratives.[11]

[2] The *Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie* (Sethe Memph. Theol.), " the earliest known discussion of right and wrong in the history of man " (Breasted Conscience, p. 19) ; Poertner, *Die aegyptischen Totenstelen*, Paderborn, 1911 ; Mar Mast ; Erman Hymnen ; Urkunden.

[3] BAR, I.

[4] Weill, Les Decrets Royaux, Paris, 1912.

[5] E.g. The Precepts of Ptah-hotep (Gunn, *The Instructions of Ptah-Hotep*, London, 1912 ; Jéquier, Le Papyrus Prisse, Paris, 1911), one half of which deals with personal conduct and the other with official and administrative affairs, the dominant note of which is " a commanding moral earnestness " ; Erman Lebensmüde ; Poertner, *op. cit.* ; Vogelsang und Gardiner Klagen ; Gardiner Admonitions ; Newberry Rekhmara ; Maspero, *Les enseignements d'Amenemhâit*, Ier, Cairo, 1914 ; Gardiner Merykerēc.

[6] BAR, I.

[7] E.g. Erman Schiffbrüchigen ; Gardiner Sinuhe.

[8] See also Poertner, *op. cit.* ; and especially the 125th chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, which is really a declaration of innocence, and which sums up the official morality of Egyptians of that period.

[9] E.g. The Wisdom of Ani, Erman-Blackman Literature, 234-42 ; Mercer Amenemope ; Budge Amen-em-âpt.

[10] Erman-Blackman Literature, *passim*.

[11] BAR, II-IV ; Erman-Blackman Literature.

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1. The Old Kingdom

Egyptian family life had its ideal in the family of Osiris, Isis, and Horus, and was the social unit. To this divine family the earliest Egyptians looked as their model of family life. Marriage normally consisted of one man and one woman, for king as well as for peasant, and as there were no laws governing degrees of consanguinity, a king often married his own sister,[12] a custom which may have been general. It cannot be determined how the average ancient Egyptian procured his bride, whether by purchase or conquest, or whether the marriage was based upon mutual attraction and consent. It seems, however, that the normal way was for a man to receive his bride freely from the hand of her father (BAR, I, 257). Although the family was normally monogamous, polygamy, or better, concubinage, was common. Even the deceased king is said to have mistresses in the hereafter (PT 123), and in this life it seems that a man usually had a mistress (*nb.t.f*) in addition to his normal wife (cf. ÄZ, 20 (1882), 37). While the early Egyptian family was patriarchal in character (BAR, I, 328-37, 357), yet the earliest monuments represent man and wife as equal,[13] and inscriptions record how the husband treated his wife with honour[14] and love (BAR, I, 189) ; in religious matters, the wife took a leading part in the cultus ;[15] and the relationship between Osiris and Isis was considered the ideal. Family love as expressed by an official of the Old Kingdom in the terms, " I was one beloved of his father, praised of his mother, whom his brothers and sisters loved,[16] was universal. It was expressed in filial affection ;[17] in the father's plans for the future of his son ;[18] and in the assured and rightful place of the daughter in the family.[19] Our sources tell us nothing about divorce during the Old Kingdom, but there must have been means other than death whereby the marriage relationship was interrupted.

At the top of the social scale stood the king. He was a very

[12] Rougé Inscr., 153.
[13] Poertner, *op. cit.*, 22.
[14] Rougé Inscr., 82.
[15] Mar Mast, 183.
[16] BAR, I, 357 ; cf. 127, 172, 281, etc.
[17] BAR, I, 382-3, 182-7, 86, 165, 103 ; Poertner, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
[18] BAR, I, 385, 331, 357, 352, etc.
[19] Poertner, *op. cit.*, *passim* ; BAR, I, 357, etc.

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State Museum, Lucknow

god and after his death he was worshipped like all other gods.[20] As god and king the pharaoh was absolute on earth—a wise but beneficent despot. He was the head of his people, and their representative to the gods. He was their protector; he was law-maker and judge;[21] utterer of justice;[22] and lord of truth (*nb mȝᶜ.t*). Even in heaven he established truth instead of injustice (PT 265). His righteousness was never questioned for he was "righteous in the sight of the sky and of the earth".[23] Endowed with almost omnipotence and omniscience,[24] he was the benefactor and life-giver of his people.[25] He was considered the good and peaceful ruler (BAR, I, 404), whose waking was in peace (PT 1478, 1518). Yet, it must not be imagined that the king actually lived up to the people's ideal, nor that the people did not often discover his imperfections, for the Pyramid Texts preserve a characterization of the king, to the effect that he "is the man who takes women from their husbands whenever he wills and when his heart desires" (PT 510). But perhaps we are to take this, from the Egyptian point of view as a right inherent in divine royalty. The state's duty towards the king may be summed up in the phrase "Emperor-worship", for the pharaoh was a god and the state's duty towards him was that of reverence, veneration, and obedience.[26] Yet the royal decrees of the Old Kingdom speak very eloquently of the rights of the people. In them we see the growth of a real democratic idea. They teach us that the rights of each sanctuary depended upon public authority and that once a decree was made and published, granting certain rights and privileges, no law could repeal the same, not even royal authority.[27]

The relation of the king to his subjects was that of god, sovereign, protector, and defender; and that of subjects to the king was veneration, love, obedience, and loyalty. The height of an Egyptian's ambition was to do what the king desired, to be beloved of the king (BAR, I, 262), and to be more honoured by the king than any servant (BAR, I, 260, etc.). Among the subjects of the

[20] See Baillet, *Le Régime pharaonique*, Paris, 1912, I, 1 ff.; Moret Royauté, *passim*; Mercer, "Emperor-Worship in Egypt", JSOR, I, 10 ff.

[21] Baillet, *op. cit.*, 271-320.

[22] PT 1774-6.

[23] PT 1188, 1219, 1306.

[24] Baillet, *op. cit.*, I, 227 ff.

[25] BAR, I, 176.

[26] Baillet, *op. cit.*, II, 363 ff.; Mercer, in JSOR, I, 10 ff.

[27] Weill Decrets, 38 ff., 72 ff.

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king themselves the relation between superior and inferior may be expressed in the actual words of a nobleman of the Fifth Dynasty : " I gave bread to all the hungry of the Cerastes-mountain ; I clothed him who was naked therein. I filled its shores with large cattle, and its lowlands with small cattle. . . . I never oppressed one in possession of his property, so that he complained of me because of it to the god of my city ; (but) I spake, and told that which was good ; never was there one fearing because of one stronger than he, so that he complained because of it to the god " (BAR, I, 281). The rôle of the superior, thus, was that of protector and defender of those dependent upon him. This and many similar declarations (cf. BAR, I, 357, 407, 395, 252, etc.) may indicate a good deal of boasting and self-praise, but it is also an indication of what the ideal was. On the other hand, the subordinate was respectful, submissive, and obedient.

Judging by the mass of legal literature in later times, it may be assumed that in early Egypt legal procedure was very soon organized, indeed we know that Egyptians had a tendency at all times to regulate justice.[28] The king, as representative of the gods, the expression of whose will was law, was the source of all law and justice. Representing the king, in the administration of justice, was the judge (*sȝb*), whose patron was Maat, goddess of truth ; and there were also chief justices, who were " high priests of the great god ".[29] There were royal charters, which had developed into an exact form of legal contract ;[30] legal contracts of all kinds were very common ;[31] and the law was continually appealed to, and was open to all men (BAR, I, 307, 310). No persons were especially privileged in respect to property ; it could be acquired in any legal way ; and was subject to legally regulated taxes, from which temples were, at least sometimes, exempted.[32]

The early Egyptians were not a great commercial people, although they sent such expeditions to inner Africa, to Sinai, Syria, and Asia Minor ; but the many scenes inscribed on the walls of tombs illustrate what a busy people they were.[33] Their labour was

[28] Consult Pirenne Histoire, an authoritative treatment of this subject.

[29] Rougé Inscr., 153 ; Mar Mast, 149.

[30] Weill Decrets, 36 ff.

[31] Cf. Weill Decrets, *passim* ; Sethe, *Aegyptische Inschrift auf den Kauf eines Hauses aus dem alten Reich*, Leipzig, 1911 ; Erman und Krebs, *Aus den Papyrus der König. Museen*, Berlin, 1899, 82 f. ; BAR, I, 201 ff., 175, 224-5, 338.

[32] Weill Decrets, 53 ff. ; also pp. 52, 96, etc.

[33] E.g. LD, II, *passim*.

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done by freemen as well as by slaves, the latter of whom were acquired by capture or by purchase, and were treated as property, liable to sale or exchange, just like cattle.[34]

Internationally, Egyptians were a peace-loving people. Peace at home and abroad was the ideal,[35] and both trade and marriage relations included the foreigner.[36] They had their wars and military expeditions (BAR, I, 311 ff.), and war was cruel then as now (BAR, I, 313). They used the *corvée* (BAR, I, 211 ; Weill Decrets, 27), as well as mercenaries (BAR, I, 311), and their wars were holy, because they were under the protection of their gods.[37] Transcendentally, the Egyptians peopled their world with gods, good and evil. The evil ones were demons. The gods were the source of all truth, righteousness, and justice, although they themselves were represented with human frailties. Nevertheless, the abomination of god was a deceitful word (PT 1161). Of the two great and popular gods, Osiris and Rē^{c}, Osiris was " lord of truth ", just as Rē^{c} was " god of truth ", and both were champions of moral worthiness and social justice, now and in the hereafter. The king was the direct representative of the gods on earth, but the gods themselves were the natural protectors of the individual, who did not fail to bring his complaints before them, for it was his right so to do (BAR, I, 281).

Though the average ancient Egyptian does not find a very large place in our extant literature, yet there are indications that he had his rights of which he was proud. He was proud of his acts of kindness, for which he was honoured by his king and loved by his gods. However, he was liable to public and physical chastisement for wrong-doing (BAR, I, 279). His faith in the future, due to a large extent to his physical environment, reacted upon his daily life, so that he tried to live in such a way here as to be assured of a comfortable existence hereafter.[38] Even the king had to furnish good reasons for personal justification.[39]

The early Egyptians ascribed the best they knew to their gods, which were the attributes of love, goodness, righteousness, truth and justice. The moral content of these attributes so far as we can

[34] See Petrie History, I, 7, 22 ; LD, II, *passim* ; BAR, I, 171, 175.

[35] Cf. Erman Hymnen, *passim*.

[36] Cf. Baillet, *op. cit.*, I, 201, n. 1.

[37] Cf. Baillet, *op. cit.*, I, 177.

[38] BAR, I, pp. 181 ff. ; Junker Onurislegende, *passim* ; contrast Moret Nile, 201.

[39] Cf. Moret Nile, 186 ; Breasted Development, 169.

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learn from a study of the words thus translated was in the case of " truth " and " justice ", the word *mȝᶜ.t*, the idea of " genuineness ", " impartiality ", " order ", " law ", " duty ". It apparently meant for the Egyptian just what we understand by " truth ", " justice ". The phrase *mȝᶜ-ḫrw*, " true of voice ", " justified " was regularly used in reference to one, whether god or man, who had been found worthy whether in this world or the next. The word *nfr*, written with a sign which resembles a small musical instrument, meant originally that which is pleasing. But from the very beginning of Egyptian history it had a moral connotation. It is clear, for example, from the " good things " mentioned by a noble of the Fifth Dynasty, " I give bread to all the hungry . . . I clothe him who was naked . . . I never oppressed one in possession of his property . . . I spake no lie ",[40] that the ancient Egyptian idea of good corresponds well with our own. A clear distinction was made between " good " and " evil ". The word for evil, *ḏw.t*, is written with the sign for mountain, the probable idea being that " evil " was associated with a more or less mysterious and fearful place, the home of evil gods. " Evil " is that which a bad god does, and is that which a bad man does. The many protests against having said " aught evil ",[41] and their associations with deeds such as those just described, are eloquent of the content of the Egyptian word *ḏw.t*. The word *mri*, " to love ", was contrasted with the word *mśdi*, " to hate ", in the same connection in which *ḥtp*, "peace", was contrasted with *ḫbn*, " guilt ".[42] On the basis of such terms as these, with their moral content, we find that the ideals of " love " in family life, of " right " and " justice " in social life, of " piety " in transcendental life, were moral ideals. Furthermore, a study of the words used to express the various aspects of that which was considered evil, such as *ḏw.t*, already noted, *mr.t*, physical evil, *btȝw*, crime, *bin*, meanness, *grg*, falsehood, and *'isf.t*, sin in general shows that they all had a moral connotation. However, there is much evidence to show that the early Egyptians were harsh and needlessly cruel and severe in punishment,[43] war though considered undesirable was not reckoned evil, and magic was customary and legal, with an exceedingly anthropomorphic idea of god.

[40] BAR, I, 281 ; cf. 328-31, etc.
[41] BAR, I, 331, 240 ; PT 1238.
[42] Erman Memph. Theol., 140.
[43] Weill Decrets, 35.

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Moral sanctions may be external or internal, the former being low moral sanctions, and the latter high. External sanctions are not " moral ", while internal ones are. An external sanction for an action is utilitarian only, and has reference, primarily, to individual comfort and advantage. On the other hand, an internal sanction for an action is truly moral. It is found in the joy and pleasure of doing what is right. The moral sanctions of the ancient Egyptians, like those of ourselves, were sometimes external and sometimes internal. When the Egyptian did right in order that it might go well with him in the presence of the great god,[44] the moral sanction was external ; but when he did right because it was good in the sight of the gods and pleased them,[45] the moral sanction was internal. The ancient Egyptian often believed that life depended upon character here as well as in the future.[46] These moral sanctions, whether external or internal, already so prominent in the Old Kingdom, show that the sense of moral responsibility had taken deep root at this early period in the Egyptian character—a responsibility not only for conduct in this life, but one which reached forward into the life beyond the grave, and a responsibility which applied to kings and even to gods as well as to all mankind high and low. This sense of responsibility became a subject of reflection on the part of such great Old Kingdom thinkers as Imhotep and Hardedef son of Khufu, which prepared the way for the earliest formulations of right and wrong conduct found in any literature, made by such moral philosophers as Ptah-hotep, Kagemni, and others of the Middle Kingdom and of the period of transition previous to 2000 B.C.

2. The Middle Kingdom

In order to avoid needless repetition, only those elements, in the moral life of the Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom, which differ from those of the Old Kingdom, or which were not revealed by the literature of the early period, are particularly emphasized.

In this period also the family was the unit of social life in Egypt, and marriage was normally monogamous, except that, the pharaoh, at any rate, could have a harem (*ḫnti*) as well. This is, no doubt, true of others as well, as stela-inscriptions of the Twelfth

[44] BAR, I, 328-31, etc.
[45] BAR, I, 328-31, etc.
[46] PT 815.

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and Thirteenth Dynasties seem to show.[47] As represented in the sources, Egyptian life was quite ideal. A commonly expressed wish was that a man may be happily reunited with his whole family in the next world.[48] And that was not merely a pious wish, for there is evidence that in this life the average Egyptian was an affectionate husband and father.[49] Parents' love and care for their children were universal, for " a good son is the gift of god " ; and also the ideal was the love and respect of children for their parents, for a " splendid thing is the obedience of an obedient son ".[50] It was particularly the duty of a son to make his father's name live on earth.[51] A man's heir was his son, but property could be left to a wife, who had the right to distribute it to any of her children born to the maker of the will.[52] Although no evidence for the existence of divorce in the early period was found, the custom was probably known, for in this period it was casually referred to as a well-known usage.[53] It was apparently considered a right, necessary to the well-being of society, and this is illustrated by the very word which was used to express the idea, namely, *wḏ*ᶜ, " divorce ", which means " to make right ".

Society during the Middle Kingdom was constituted in the same way as that of the Old Kingdom, except that the nomarchs, or nobles, had become more influential and independent. It was a feudal age, and a time of more individuality and independence. The pharaohs tried to curb this growth, but were opposed, a condition which gave rise to much social unrest. Social wrongs increased, and men became conscious of them, which gave rise to earnest efforts to bring about a state of social righteousness.[54] Literary remains of the Middle Kingdom, unlike those of the earlier period, have preserved much information about the middle classes.[55] In addition to what we have found to have been the duties of the pharaoh of the Old Kingdom, as head of society, Amenemhēt I,

[47] Moret, *Galerie égyptienne*, Paris, 1909, C 7, C 11.

[48] Baillet, in JA, 1904, 307-29.

[49] Erman Schiffbrüchigen, ÄZ, 43 (1906), 17 ; Ptahhotep (Gunn), § 21 ; Erman Lebensmüde, xxvi.

[50] Moret, *op. cit.*, C 5 ; BAR, I, 693, 659 ; Ptahhotep (Gunn), §§ 12, 43, 38.

[51] Moret, *op. cit.*, C 5.

[52] Pap Kahun, *passim.*

[53] Vogelsang und Gardiner Klagen, 10, l. 16.

[54] Admon, Appendix ; Erman Lebensmüde, *passim.*

[55] E.g. the famous cemetery at Abydos; cf. Vogelsang und Gardiner Klagen, *passim.*

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in his instructions to his son, has given us an excellent picture of what the Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom thought of the duties of a king—which were to provide for his people.[56] On the other hand the king was the constant object of the people's praise and veneration,[57] for he was the friend of the poor and the rewarder of the righteous.[58] Although a proverb preserved in Ptahhotep (Gunn) (§ 28) says "His conduct is that of the nobles, favouring one side in his speech", there was another which said of a noble "he was more unbiased than the magistrates"—a compliment to noble and magistrate alike. Indeed, the rich sources of this period contain an even higher idea—if that were possible—of the character of the nomarch than those of the Old Kingdom.[59] Men respected their superiors,[60] acted justly and uprightly with their equals,[61] and had a high respect for the law.[62] There was a commanding moral earnestness in the period of the Middle Kingdom, which very often made it difficult to distinguish between obedience and the sense of right. Thus, Ptah-hotep said, "If thou be commanded to do a theft, bring it to pass that the command be taken off thee" (Gunn, §23). The sense of justice was very highly developed, for example, a nomarch of Asyûṭ made a legal contract between himself as nomarch and himself as chief priest (BAR, I, 568 ff.). However, slavery was still common in the Middle Kingdom, although free-men were not always forced to labour.[63] Slaves could be handed on by will from owner to heir;[64] but kindness to servants was recommended (Ptahhotep (Gunn), § 22).

In spite of their love of peace,[65] in which the Egyptian longed to pass his life,[66] they were compelled, long before the end of this period, to fight for their independence. In that struggle with the Hyksos, a warlike and horse-using people, they learned war on a large scale. One of the greatest kings of the Middle Kingdom,

[56] BAR, I, 478-483, 747.
[57] BAR, I, 747.
[58] Vogelsang und Gardiner Klagen, *passim*; Ptahhotep (Gunn), § D.
[59] Cf. Newberry Rekhmara, *passim*; Newberry BH, *passim*; Taylor, *The Tomb of Sebeknekht*, London, 1896, *passim*; Griffith and Newberry, *El Bersheh*, London, n.d., *passim*.
[60] Moret, *op. cit.*, C 12; BAR, I, 428, 522.
[61] Ptahhotep, *passim*.
[62] Ptahhotep, *passim*.
[63] Newberry BH, I, Tomb, 2; BAR, I, 523.
[64] Pap Kahun, *passim*.
[65] BAR, I, 483.
[66] BAR, I, 747.

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Sesostris III, became just as much addicted to the capture of men and women, of cattle and grain, and of all kinds of spoil as the leaders of any warlike people. Finally, Ahmose I overcame the foreigner, and introduced Egypt's period of great wars and imperialism.

The gods remained the same mysterious, but men-like beings, the source and guardians of all truth and justice, loving righteousness and hating evil,[67] the source of all wisdom (Ptahhotep (Gunn), § A), and the determiners of fate (Ptahhotep (Gunn), § 26). The god Osiris was growing in popularity, while Rēᶜ was becoming more and more the court god.

The sense of individual moral responsibility was the great ethical contribution of the Middle Kingdom, and with it went the development of a deep sense of personal right. The Eloquent Peasant (Klagen), in his dispute with his antagonist, declared, " my ways are good ", that is, " I have a *right* to the way I take " ; and the Misanthrope (Lebensmüde) demanded that each man be responsible only for his own deeds—" sentence a man only for the deeds that he has verily committed ". The Egyptian's sense of truth and justice had moulded him into a stern critic of personal endeavour and responsibility. " Thy tongue is the spring of a balance, thy heart is the weight, and thy two lips are its two arms ", declared the Eloquent Peasant ; and Ptah-hotep said, " honour a man for what he has become, not for what he was ". Ptah-hotep had much to say about evil and good—" evil comes to him who heareth not " ; " evil winneth wealth but doth not endure " ; " the fool regardeth good as evil " ; " more acceptable is the nature of one just of heart than the ox of him who doeth iniquity " ; " wrong-doing hath never yet brought its venture to port " ; on the other hand, " do right, deal justly with all " ; " truth is good " ; " hold fast to truth " ; " transgression of truth is punished " " strive after excellence " ; for, according to Merikerēᶜs teacher (§ 7), " a good disposition is a man's heaven ". The average Egyptian, according to the moral writings of the Middle Kingdom, aimed to be upright, truthful, just, honest, frank, generous, the protector of widows and orphans, and defender of the weak. He condemned all the opposite vices. He was warned to expect injustice and oppression, and to be able to stand alone ;[68] but he was fair-minded enough to realize that " the other fellow " also had his rights. These he respected, and accordingly condemned

[67] RT, 31 (1909), 22 ; Annales, 5, 248.
[68] BAR, I, 479 ; Ptahhotep (Gunn), § 20.

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adultery, robbery, and violence, and he encouraged the opposite virtues and a recognition of the rights of his fellow-men. This was the ideal. There were many exceptions, so much so that the Misanthrope could find no justice in the land, no satisfaction in the world, and nothing but evil held sway.[69] But where there are ideals there are good intentions, and good intentions are not always unsuccessful.

Truth remained now, as in the Old Kingdom, the great ideal in all walks of life, under all circumstances, and at all times. The Misanthrope represented the average Egyptian's opinion in his advice, " Speak the truth, do the truth, do that which conforms to truth, because truth is powerful, because it is great, because it is lasting, and when its paths are found it leads to a blessed state of existence ".[70] This high regard for truth resulted in a deep sense of justice, which the Misanthrope represented in a very picturesque fashion, when he said, " It is breath to the nose to do justice." Accordingly, the desire for justice and respect for the truth deepened the Egyptian's hatred of evil in all its forms. Their " ought " was summed up in doing " what men love and what the gods approve ".[71] The moral evil of the Middle Kingdom was similar to that of the earlier period, only with a deepened sense of the foolishness of falsehood and injustice, and the unrighteousness of brutal might (Ptahhotep (Gunn), § 6). Vices, such as quarrelling, anger, covetousness, were common, and were condemned ; but that which was hated above all in every sphere of life was falsehood, injustice, and unrighteousness.

Moral sanctions of the Middle Kingdom were mostly external. Instances of the expression of extremely utilitarian sanctions are extant, such as in the case of the man who said, " I did that which the great ones loved, and that which was praised by the humble people, in order that Horus may extend my life upon earth ".[72] But, in keeping with the great growth in the popularity of the Osirian theology of the after-world, the moral sanction which appealed most forcibly at this time was the idea of reward in the future life.[73]

[69] Erman Lebensmüde, XL, XLII.

[70] Cf., for similar ideas of truth, Ptahhotep (Gunn), §§ 5, 8, 19 ; BAR, I, 423, 471, 512, 532-3, 657-8, 727, 745, 748 ; JEA, 4 (1917), 29 ; Newberry Rekhmara, *passim* ; Taylor, *op. cit.*, *passim* ; Newberry BH, I, *passim.*

[71] An idea which approached very nearly what we understand by a " categorical imperative ".

[72] Petrie, *Qurneh*, London, 1909, Stela I.

[73] Cf. Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt*, London, 1915, 43, 66 ; Schmidt, *Museum Münterianum*, Bruxelles, 1910, 13 ff.

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However, that was not all, for the Egyptians of this period also believed that to leave behind a good name in this world was most desirable. It was firmly believed that one's name lived on in human memory.[74] And there was also a real internal moral sanction. Fidelity and virtue were their own reward.[75] Not only did many an individual look forward to the time when his soul would be "justified"[76] by Thot in the presence of Rē^{c}, but they took keen pleasure in the idea, and it reacted upon their conduct with a restraining effect, producing a very conscious desire to think worthily, speak truthfully, and act justly.

The people of the Middle Kingdom became in many respects disillusioned. All the wealth and civilization of the great Pyramid Age seemed to have failed to save the individual. Men began to be sceptical, to pose questions, to examine themselves and society. In doing so, they not only found that each man possessed within himself a moral force capable of saving himself, but also that he and his kind could redeem society. And so we have preserved to us from that period a series of tracts describing and denouncing the weakness and even corruption of society, and also offering constructive admonitions for its regeneration, painting pictures of the ideal in personal and social living. In these pictures, the thinkers of the age introduced kings, nobles, officials, as well as the common subject who also would have his individual and social rights recognized. These moral philosophers preached a gospel of truth, righteousness, and social justice as refreshing and vital as the world has ever contemplated—and, moreover, a gospel not confined to this life, but one which taught that just as virtue and goodness were their own reward here, so it would be in the world to come.

3. The New Kingdom and After

As the moral life of the New Kingdom and After was a development of that of the earlier periods, repetitions will only occur where they will be necessary to a connected discussion. The family continued to be the social unit, and polygamy was exceptional.

[74] Cf. AAA, 7, 82, 83; Erman Lebensmüde, IX.

[75] Taylor, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

[76] For a discussion of the phrase *m3^{c}-ḫrw*, see Sethe, *Einsetzung des Vezirs*, Leipzig, 1909, 23, anm. 96. In the Old Kingdom it was used only of the deceased pharaoh, but at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom it became customary to add it to the name of every deceased person.

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It was common for the rich to have a harem,[77] which consisted of concubines and slave-wives, but these wives were never placed on the same level with a man's consort. Marriage with a sister became more and more common,[78] especially in royal and noble families. The family remained patriarchal, and the relations between the various members of it were about the same. For a son to become an enemy or a slayer of his father was considered one of the greatest of crimes.[79] Childless parents were supposed to adopt children,[80] and there is reason to believe that they were as good to these as they would have been to their own offspring. The chief characteristic of the family was love, and filial piety, although, no doubt, there were many examples of the contrary, and especially, for example, in the case of such a king as Rameses II, who notoriously disregarded the sanctity of the monuments of his ancestors.

By the time of the New Kingdom the feudal system had passed away, but its place was taken to some extent by the priests and temple officials who became very powerful. Nevertheless, the king remained the head of society, a divine being, who received his authority from the gods. He reigned as an absolute monarch, but was still " lord of truth " and jealous for the welfare of his people.[81] He received in turn from them love, devotion and obedience.[82] The sense of individual responsibility of the Middle Kingdom went on developing during the later periods, and the 125th chapter of the Book of the Dead is most valuable in that it gives expression to what the individual Egyptian considered worthy of condemnation—a list which shows a remarkable moral consciousness and sensitiveness to fine moral distinctions. In emphasizing his many moral and generous acts,[83] the Egyptian official may have been boasting and may even have exaggerated, but we cannot but be impressed by his desire to appear as good as possible ; and though his intentions may not have been always realized, we can form a fair estimate of what his ideals were. There were numerous admonitions against stealing, false weights, and measures, against robbing the widow and the poor.[84] Indeed, the individual was expected to hold himself

[77] ÄZ, 18 (1880), 82.
[78] Poertner, *op. cit.*, 19-20.
[79] Gardiner, in JEA, 1 (1914), 104.
[80] ÄZ, 42 (1906), 100-2.
[81] BAR, IV, 47, 410.
[82] BAR, II, 370, 52, 237 ; III, 265, 412.
[83] BAR, II, 768, 343 ; Naville, *Store-City of Pithom*, London, 1903, 16.
[84] Mercer Amenemope, *passim*.

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responsible for the safety of his neighbour, not to sit in his corner while one slew another.[85] He prided himself on his love of learning,[86] and he cherished his freedom of speech.[87] The king, as usual, was the source of all law, in the name of the gods, and his judges boasted that they loved to judge justly, not showing partiality (BAR, II, 713). During this period, law courts were highly organized. On the whole punishments were fair, though, from our modern point of view some were rather severe, for example, a man's nose was cut off for robbery (BAR, III, 51), and for stealing of hides a man was punished by the loss of the hides as well as by a hundred blows and the opening of five wounds (BAR, III, 57). Royal collectors were often merciless and beat with sticks the peasants, who could not pay the amount demanded.[88] Teachers were often severe, their philosophy being, "the youth has a back, he attends when it is beaten".[89] Property rights improved, commercial law developed, and the rights of slaves were more and more firmly established, some of whom attained to great prominence.[90] Servants sometimes became masters,[91] and slavery was considered degrading. While Amenemope left untouched adultery and sexual immorality in general, the Wisdom of Ani advised a son to marry, warning him against the "strange woman", who is a deep water,[92] but the penalty of conjugal infidelity is known to have been death during this period, if not before.[93]

The peaceful Egyptians of earlier times became the warlike Egyptians of the Empire. The Hyksos occupation had transformed

[85] Gardiner, in JEA, 1 (1914), 104.
[86] Pap Sallier, II, 4, 2-5.
[87] JEA, 1 (1914), 104.
[88] Pap Sallier, I, 5, 11 ff.
[89] Pap Sallier, V, 8, 6.
[90] Devéria, *Le Papyrus judiciaire de Turin*, Paris, 1868, 4, 14.
[91] JEA, 1 (1914), 104.
[92] Budge Âmen-em-âpt, 131.
[93] Cf. Pap Westcar, 1 ff.; Breasted Conscience, 135; The Tale of Two Brothers, where the elder brother slew his wife for merely attempted adultery. In two contracts of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, the earliest marriage contracts yet discovered in Egypt, it is implied that the husband had no obligation to his wife, if he had divorced her for adultery (Griffith, *Catalogue*, 114 ff., 134 ff.). In Ptolemaic contracts, adultery and all forms of conjugal infidelity were forbidden to both husband and wife—the penalty of the husband was the forfeiture of the dowry, but that of the wife is not specified (Grenfell and Hunt, *Tebtunis Papyri*, London, 1933, I, 449). According to Herodotus (II, 111), a king once gathered all unfaithful wives into one town and destroyed them by fire.

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Egypt into a military power. Throughout the Empire period great wars were waged especially in Western Asia and in Libya. The ideal divine king was Horus, "smiter of the barbarians"; and Seti I was he who "loves an hour of battle more than a day of rejoicing" (BAR, III, 101). Cruelties in warfare were common (BAR, II, 789; III, 330), and hands of the slain were cut off as trophies to be brought before the king (BAR, II, 9; III, 587, etc.). Yet peace remained the ideal (BAR, IV, 399), and such literature as the Book of the Dead is saturated with sentiments of peace. This accounts, in part, no doubt, for the extensive use of mercenaries during all periods of Egyptian warfare. The art of making and preserving peace was highly developed during this period, which is well illustrated by the famous treaty between Rameses II and the Hittites (BAR, III, 375 ff.). There is nothing in ancient Egyptian literature which sounds more modern than the terms of this treaty. All wars now, as before, however, were considered "holy"; the enemy was "the wretched foe"; the outlook was national; and the attitude towards the enemy was correspondingly provincial.

Polytheism and anthropomorphism still characterized the Egyptian idea of god, but polytheism was becoming less crude and anthropomorphism less naive. There were still many gods, but only the greater ones played an important rôle. With the broadening of imperial outlook there went a corresponding attenuation of the idea of the spiritual attributes of the gods. Morality played a larger part in religion, and a tendency to extreme henotheism and even to monotheism established itself in the reign of Ikhnaton. The hymns to Amūn of the reign of Amenophis III,[94] and those to Aton in the reign of Ikhnaton[95] breathe a remarkable universality and spirituality. The praise of Ptah in the reign of Rameses III, while inferior in universal appeal to some of the hymns of Amūn and to those of Aton, serves to show that the advance in the idea of god, in the Empire period, is not to be confined to the theologies of Amūn and Aton.[96] The epithet of Aton was "living in truth", as it was also of other gods, especially of Amūn, but it was Amūn-Rēᶜ of whom men said, "Listening to the poor who are in distress; gentle of heart when one cries unto him; deliverer of the timid man from the violent; judging the poor—the poor and the oppressed . . . lord of mercy most loving." Indeed, the sun-god was the

[94] See especially Erman Amonshymus.
[95] See especially the great Aton hymn, Davies El-Amarnah, VI, 29 ff.
[96] BAR, IV, 308.

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" august god, who heareth petitions, who cometh at the cry of the afflicted poor, and giveth breath to him who is bowed down ".

The ideal of the individual was to be religious,[97] to avoid blasphemy (BAR, II, 343), and not to think scornfully of a god (BD, 125). In short, this period was an age of personal piety, as one can easily see by an examination of the inscriptions coming from the cemetery of Thebes. The exhortations of Amenemope are full of personal advice in moral matters—" treat everyone with kindness, speak no evil of any man, and hide the wickedness of others within thyself " (Col. x, 17-xi, 11), for " god hates the liar and the deceiver " (Col. xiii, 11-xiv, 3), and " the goods of the wicked shall be taken away and given to another " (Col. viii). In spite of all the injunctions and exhortations in favour of temperance, the Egyptians of both sexes appear from many bas-reliefs to have often committed excesses, and men were so drunk as to be carried away from feasts. And so one wise man said, " Drink not to excess . . . the words that come out of thy mouth, thou canst not recall. Thou dost fall and break thy limbs, and no one reaches out a hand to thee. Thy comrades go on drinking ; they stand up and say, ' away with the fellow who is drunk '."[98] And another wise man entreated his son to content himself with two jugs of beer and three loaves of bread.[99] The late Egyptian individual was conscious of the same spirit of independence as his predecessors. He loved to tell of his acts of kindness ; and how he considered himself worthy of his god's consideration. His belief in the relation of his deeds in this world to his happiness in the future was as firm as ever, and his moral life was governed accordingly.

The Egyptians from first to last believed that to do the will of the gods was the greatest good. It was their moral ideal. And the controlling factor in their idea of god was *m3ᶜ.t*, " truth ". The texts in this last period in Egyptian history have more to say about truth than about any other moral quality. But, of course, many other moral attributes were still ascribed to the gods. In fact, " one must be separated from every sin which he has done before he can see the face of the gods " (BD, 125). He must be pure and obedient, free from all violence and iniquity, lovable and pitiful, and ready to punish cursing, quarrelling, and murder, and quick to destroy faults of all kinds. The official's ideal was to

[97] JEA, 1 (1914), 27.
[98] Pap Boul, I, 17, 6 ff.
[99] Pap Sallier, II, 10, 6.

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do justice,[100] and justice and goodness of heart were the ideals of all men, peasants as well as nobles.[101] Whether in family, social, international, transcendental, or personal life the supreme moral ideal was truth, *m3ᶜ.t*, with its fundamental meaning "to be straight". Conversely, the great moral evil was falsehood. There was nothing more despicable in the eyes of an Egyptian than a lie. Next to that were fraud and stealing. Even the intentions of the heart were taken into consideration, and it was realized that sin can always be ultimately traced to the thoughts of the heart, for he spoke of these things as "the evil things which are in your hearts" (BD, 79, 8). During this late period, after individual conscientiousness had to some extent run its course, the tendency of untrammelled individualism to sin manifested itself. And so we learn from the papyri of this period that the morality of the common workmen tended to become very low. Stealing, falsehood, and cruelty grew apace. The material side of life also made considerable headway, with the result that external moral sanctions became more powerful. The reason for doing good and avoiding evil was usually stated in materialistic terms. A man's future state was viewed in terms of a reward for his present deeds.[102] On the other hand, such expressions as, "the heart of a man is his own god, and my heart was satisfied with my deeds",[103] indicate that the Egyptian of this period really did do good for good's sake, and could find satisfaction in the act of doing good.

The ancient Egyptians had no theory of the origin of evil other than that evil as well as everything else came from the gods, who created evil as well as good.[104] Accordingly, it seems to have been believed that before that act of creation there was a kind of golden age, a time when there was no sin (PT 1463). After its creation its home was in the heart, but as to how it entered there, the Egyptian did not speculate. He was conscious of the sinfulness of falsehood, injustice, unrighteousness, and brutal force, but why mankind should at all be sinful, he apparently did not ask. The point in the historical development of ancient Egyptian culture when this consciousness first made its appearance cannot be very exactly

[100] BAR, II, 669; Gardiner, in Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, London, 1913, 35.

[101] Gardiner, *Literary Texts in the New Kingdom*, I, Leipzig, 1911, 16; JEA, 1 (1914), 25-6.

[102] Davies Puyemrê, II, 45; BD, 125.

[103] Wreszinski Inschr., 160.

[104] See Ptahhotep (Gunn), 99-100.

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determined—perhaps as early as the time of the *Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie*, before the time of the Pyramid Texts.[105] But by the time of Amenemope there was no doubt about a conscience and where it was located, for when he said, " the heart of man is the nose of god ",[106] he meant to say that in the heart resided the power to distinguish between right and wrong, good and evil, to smell, as it were, the difference. This was the impelling voice of conscience within, having the power of discerning conduct as something to be approved or disapproved.

In early Egyptian literature there is no evidence that the Egyptians speculated about the questions of free will and predestination. To them the gods were not far-off beings, who, at the beginning of things, determined destinies, but they were ever present, super-human beings, who lived and moved in the present. Men's destinies were in the hands of the gods, but they were being shaped in the present. It would seem, therefore, that the early Egyptians believed in the reality of a freedom of the will. Their many exhortations to avoid evil and do good show that they believed in the power of making decisions, in changing courses of action, and in entering upon new experiences. There was, therefore, probably no mental conflict between the question of the compatibility or incompatibility of free will and predestination. They believed that the gods created evil as well as good, but they continually boasted of having themselves avoided the one and encompassed the other. However, by the time of the Middle Kingdom the idea of predestination began to make itself felt. The word *šw3* (*š3i*), " destiny ", " fate ", indicates this, and such expressions as the following, from Sinuhe,[107] " is god ignorant of what is decreed with regard to him ? ", " Oh, all ye gods who predestined that I should flee ", " the god who predestined me to this flight drew me ", show that although the will to do or not to do was free, yet men were sometimes destined for certain experiences. This idea from the time of the Middle Kingdom remained constant throughout succeeding periods of ancient Egyptian thought.

In spite of the presence and growth of magic, from first to last in Egyptian religion, yet the idea of judgment was often bound up

[105] Cf. Breasted Conscience, *passim*.

[106] Mercer Amenemope, XXIV, 4.

[107] Gardiner Sinuhe, ll. 126, 155, 230. E.g. it was said in the New Kingdom that the Hathors decreed the destiny of the Enchanted Prince. In Babylonia Tablets of Destiny were in the possession of the gods.

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with that of moral distinctions, and as early as the time of Merikerē^{c} of the Middle Kingdom, even a king looked forward to responsibility beyond the grave for the moral quality of his earthly life.[108] Whether the future judge was to be Rē^{c} or Osiris, in time, every soul had to be prepared to meet the final ethical ordeal. And a reward or punishment was certain. Already in the *Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie* the belief is expressed that god would decree life for the good and death for the wicked ; and Merikerē^{c} warned to remember the day of judgment.[109]

While the ancient Egyptians were aware of the sinfulness of sin, realized that it was displeasing to the gods, and felt its own undesirability, yet they never seemed to have thought of being able to be saved from its power and from the desire to commit sin. They did not seem to interest themselves in the possibility of a way of salvation. They were conscious of sin, and yet they were not given to confessing it, nor to desire pardon for having committed it, nor did they think of asking strength or grace to overcome it. Perhaps it was thought that every sin was paid for by offerings which were made every day, and as to the future, since each individual could become identified with Osiris, he needed no further salvation.[110]

In estimating the morals of ancient Egyptians,[111] we have found that as a nation they held beliefs and had practices which we would condemn. Their idea of god was imperfect and limited ; their toleration of slavery ; their excessive cruelty ; and their narrow materialistic outlook all mark them as an ancient people, highly developed in some respects, but comparatively backward in moral practices. On the other hand, their virtues were very positive. Their love of truth, justice, and righteousness is remarkable. The individual must be judged in the light of his own day. This being so, his heredity, environment, social traditions account for all those instances in which we have found him inferior to ourselves. As an individual in his own age, his ideal was truthfulness, justice, and righteousness. He was conscious of sin and its

[108] Cf. also Moret, "Le Jugement du roi mort dans les textes des Pyramides", Paris, 1922-3.

[109] JEA, 1 (1914), 20 ff., § 13.

[110] Cf. Junker, "Die Osirisreligion und der Erloesungsgedanke bei den Aegyptern", *Intern. Woche für Religions-Ethnologie*, Mailand, September 1925, IV Tagung, 17-25.

[111] See also Mercer, in Sneath, *The Evolution of Ethics as revealed in the Great Religions*, New Haven, 1927, chapter I.

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sinfulness, and, no doubt, his conscience often accused him. The absence of personal confession of sin may, in part, be due to the fact that such a large proportion of our sources are mortuary texts, in which the individual appears putting up the strongest possible defence of himself with his future interests in view. But with the advance in social thinking and in the consciousness of individual responsibility, which began in the Middle Kingdom, and extended through the later periods of Egyptian history, we shall not go far wrong in concluding that, while Egypt was nationally a product of its age, though one of the foremost morally, the individual Egyptian, considering the limitations of his times, was, on the whole, a conscientiously truthful, just, and righteous member of society, and whenever he failed it was not for want of good intentions.

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CHAPTER XXV

FINAL RELIGIOUS PHASES

THE Macedonian conquest of Egypt in 332 B.C. is the starting point for a brief study of Egyptian religion during the Graeco-Roman period. However, two centuries before the time of Alexander's seizure of Egypt, a factory for Greek merchants was established at Naukratis, near the mouth of the Nile. Between these merchants and other Greeks settled at Abydos, on the one hand, and native Egyptians, on the other, there took place the earliest rapprochement in religious matters. However, neither Herodotus nor Plato, three centuries later, displayed any kind of acquaintance with the essence of ancient Egyptian religious thought. Nor did the Egyptian of that time take any interest in Greek religion and its deities. But with Alexander's conquest of Egypt things changed. Alexander himself went to the oracle of Ammon (the usual Graeco-Roman form of Amūn) to have himself recognized as Ammon's son, and was thus deified, and he offered sacrifice to the gods of Memphis. Moreover, his successors, the Ptolemies, supported the old Egyptian religion as the state religion. Greek interest in the strangeness of Egyptian religion was aroused early in the Greek period by a Macedonian, Leo Pellaeus, who wrote a book on the gods of Egypt (*περὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον θεῶν*).[1] Strabo of the time of Augustus carried on the same interest in the strangeness of Egyptian animal worship, already long ago exhibited by the Egyptian priests themselves, for example, in the famous Decree of Canopus in which they praise Ptolemy III and his consort for their goods deeds on behalf of Apis and Mnevis and the other sacred animals. However, serious attempts were made on the part of Egyptians and foreigners to compare and co-ordinate Egyptian religious thought with that of Greece and of Rome, and so we meet in the so-called " Hermetic literature " a very free blending of Greek and Egyptian religious thought.[2]

[1] Hist. graec. fragm. (ed. Didot), II, frgm. 2.

[2] Cf. Arrian, II, 13 ff.; Diodorus, XVII, 48 ff.; Curtius, IV, 7 ff.; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 26 ff.; Justin, XI, 11 ff.; Wilcken Ptolmäerzeit, *passim*; Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, IV, 10.5 ff.; Lumbroso, *L'Egitto dei Greci e dei Romani*,

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The Egyptian deities who appealed most to the Greek residents of Egypt were Osiris, Isis, Horus in the form of Harpocrates, and Anubis, that is, the cycle of Osirian deities.[3] However, other ancient deities were known, recognized, and worshipped, only as a rule, under Greek, or, later, Roman names. Thus, for example, Amūn (Ammon) was Zeus or Jupiter, Geb was Krŏnos, Neit was Athene, Rē^{c} was Helios, Hathor was Aphrodite, Thot was Hermes, Min was Pan, Ptah was Hephaistos, Satis was Hera, Bast was Artemis, Buto was Leto, Onuris was Ares, Anukis was Hestia, Khonsu was Herakles, Nephthys was Latona, Set was Typhon, Imhotep was Asklepios. Certain Egyptian deities were worshipped by the Greeks without an equivalent, such as Bes, Sebek, Thueris (Taūrt). As for the deities of the Osirian cycle, Osiris became Serapis (see below), and was also known as Dionysos, Zeus, Pluto or Helios, Hades, Bacchus, Eros; Isis was known as Demeter, Aphrodite, Athene, Artemis, Hekate, Hera, Semele, Io, Tyche, Ceres, Minerva, etc.; Horus (Harpocrates) was Apollo; and Anubis was Hermanubis. But the propagation of the old Egyptian religion, after the time of Alexander the Great, was almost exclusively restricted to the deities of the Osirian cycle, and to Serapis who became the Greek and Roman equivalent of Osiris himself.[4]

Serapis, a new form of deity, became state-god of Egypt during the Ptolemaic period, and then spread his conquests throughout the civilized world, becoming supreme in popular, as he had been in state religion. He was usually represented as a man with curly hair and beard, wearing a *modius* (a kind of basket) on his head.

Roma, 1895; Mahaffy, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, London, 1914; Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, London, 1927; Ehrenberg, *Alexander und Aegypten*, Leipzig, 1926; Schubart, *Aegypten von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf Mohammed*, Berlin, 1922; *ib.*, *Die Griechen in Aegypten*, Leipzig, 1927.

[3] For Classical literature on Egyptian deities, see Hopfner Font, *passim*; Lafaye Culte, 15 ff.

[4] Serapis became a veritable Greek translation of "Osiris". Inscriptions which in hieroglyphic and demotic use the word "Osiris", in Greek used the word "Serapis", CIG, III, 4969. Occasionally, however, Greek inscriptions of homage mention Osiris instead of Serapis (Strabo, XVII, i, 44); and a distinction was sometimes made even in Ptolemaic times between Osiris and Serapis (cf. RA, 1887, p. 214). Osiris, though often appearing under the name Serapis, and though the name Serapis, for various reasons, was much more commonly used in inscriptions, nevertheless was the god worshipped with Isis and Harpocrates, a fact which became clearer as time went on.

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Sometimes he appeared in the form of Osiris, and sometimes in that of an Apis-bull. The oldest representation of him is found on a silver coin of the time of Ptolemy IV.

Fig. 113
SERAPIS

As we have already seen in chapter XIII, the Apis-bull was anciently sacred to Ptah of Memphis ; but was also connected with Osiris, and considered a manifestation of Osiris, a son of Osiris, the very soul of Osiris.[5] Indeed, the combination *wśir-ḥp*, in reference to the deceased Apis occurs in inscriptions from the Nineteenth Dynasty on, and is the origin of the Greek, *Σάραπις*, Serapis.[6] As to the origin of the god Serapis, it seems that Ptolemy Soter set himself to found a religion that should unite both his Greek and his Egyptian subjects in the bonds of a common faith. He apparently knew the legend of Osiris and found in it an important point of contact between it and the popular mysteries of Eleusis. He invited Timotheos, a member of one of the sacred families in which the Eleusinian priesthood was hereditary, and associated him with the Egyptian priest Manetho to find a religion which should be common to Egyptians and Greeks alike. Now, according to legend,[7] a dream revealed to Ptolemy the existence of a statue of Hades or Pluto at Sinope in Pontus. This was imported to Alexandria, where the priests discovered that this Hades or Pluto, an underworld god, was none other than *wśir-ḥp*, Osiris-Apis, that is, the deceased or Osirianized Apis, for all holy dead were believed to be Osirianized.

[5] According to Plutarch IO, 20, 29, 39 ; Diod., I, 85.

[6] Cf. Sethe, *Serapis* (Abh. der K. G. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, N. F., 14, 5), Berlin, 1913 ; Weinreich, *Neue Urkunden zur Sarapis-Religion*, Tübingen, 1919.

[7] Plutarch IO, 28.

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The imported god was called, then, *Ὄσυρᾶπις* which became *ὁ Σάραπις*, the Sarapis, now generally called Serapis. A temple was built for him in Alexandria, which was known as the Serapeum. Like Osiris, Serapis was both an underworld god, or god of the dead, and also a god of fertility. The god Serapis was no doubt of Egyptian origin, but was ordinarily represented in Greek fashion. He came from Memphis, but his manner of representation was Sinopeian.[8] Accordingly, Ptolemy Soter established Serapis as national god in Alexandria, the capital of his empire. Before the death of Ptolemy Soter, a Serapeum was built in Athens, Cyprus, Rhodes, Antioch, Smyrna, Halicarnassus, and, after his death, in many other places. Its greatest triumph was when it entered Rome about 80 B.C. At the time of the Antonines there were as many as forty-two Serapeums in Egypt alone. However, Alexandria was the first and grandest of them all, and the abiding-place of the original image. The second great centre of the cult was Memphis ;[9] and the third was at Abydos.

Unlike Osiris, Serapis had no family, no special attributes, for he had no myths. However, his nature was two-fold, Egyptian and Greek, and, like Osiris, he was both an underworld ruler as well as a ruler in heaven. As an Egyptian god, his worship was like that of Osiris and of Apis ; as a Greek god he was identified with several different deities—Pluto, Zeus, Helios, Poseidon, Asklepios ; and as a Roman god later he was Hades, Jupiter, Sol, Neptunus. Indeed, his Greek worshippers claimed him to have been universal, and to have comprised in his single person the whole Greek pantheon. Later Serapis drew to himself the worship of all the Mediterranean gods, who had a common origin with Osiris and Dionysos—Adonis, Atys, numerous sun-gods from the Semitic world, Helios, Mithras, and through the last, especially, he influenced the whole course of the mystery religions.

Just before the beginning of the Graeco-Roman period, emperor-worship (see above, chapter XIV) was much revived in ancient Egypt, as is seen by the many priesthoods of the early pharaohs, which existed in the time of the Thirtieth Dynasty.

[8] Sethe, in Festschrift-Lehmann-Haupt, Wien und Leipzig, 1921, 207-13. Lehmann-Haupt himself had a theory that Serapis was of Babylonian origin (see Roscher Lex, Liefg., 61, 338 ff.).

[9] The Serapeum built by Ptolemy at Memphis was separated from the ancient Serapeum by a long avenue of sphinxes. We read on the Rosetta Stone that it was at Memphis that Ptolemy V, Epiphanes, was crowned with all the ceremonies which made him a " living Horus ".

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Immediately after his defeat of the Persians and conquest of Egypt, Alexander was deified and worshipped, and declared son of Amūn in the Oasis of Siwa in 331 B.C. In 324 he was deified by request in Greece, thus becoming the forerunner of emperor-worship in that country. The successor of Alexander was made divine because of his good and helpful deeds, so he was called Soter (σωτήρ). This was Ptolemy I. But the son and successor of Soter, Ptolemy II Philadelphus, became god at his birth, just as did all the Egyptian pharaohs. But the difference between emperor-worship during the Greek period and during the dynastic period in Egypt was that the former sovereigns were worshipped during their lifetime, while the Egyptian pharaohs were apparently not worshipped until after death.[10] Beginning with Ptolemy II, Philadelphus, all Ptolemaic kings were worshipped during their lifetime. Philadelphus carried the process a step farther, for he instituted a private cult in honour of his queen, Arsinoe II, his wife and sister, and associated himself with her under the title of the " brother and sister gods ", *theoi philadelphoi*. At her death, he proclaimed the cult a national institution, appointed a special priestess, and formally identified Arsinoe with Aphrodite (Isis).[11] The Decree of Canopus acknowledged the divine nature of the reigning king, Ptolemy III, Euergetes I, who took the title " benefactor gods ", *euergetai*, for himself and consort, and established an order of priests, called " the priests of the benefactor gods ". As his dynastic deity he recognized Serapis (Osiris). The Decree of Rosetta acknowledged Ptolemy V and his queen Cleopatra I as " the gods epiphanes ". Cleopatra was represented as Isis. Ptolemy VI and his wife were called " the mother-loving gods ", *philometores*. Ptolemy VII married, first his sister Cleopatra II, and then his niece Cleopatra III, and the three of them bore the title, " King Ptolemy, Queen Cleopatra the Sister, and Queen Cleopatra the Wife, gods *euergetai* ". Cleopatra II also reigned as co-regent with her brother Ptolemy VIII while Ptolemy VII was imprisoned by Antiochus Epiphanes of Syria. Ptolemy Soter II, called Lathyrus, was crowned by the chief priest of Memphis as " King of Upper and Lower Egypt, master of the

[10] Except perhaps by anticipation (above, chapter XIV) ; cf. Sethe, in ERE, VI, 647-52 ; Wilcken, " Zur Entstehung des hellinistischen Königskultes ", *Stzb. der Preussisch. Ak. d. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1938, 298-321 ; McEwan, *The Oriental Origin of Hellenistic Kingship, Studies in Anc. Or. Civilization*, No. 13, Chicago, 1934 ; Bell, in JEA, 8 (1922), 145.

[11] Cf. Kiessling, in *Aegyptus*, XIII, 3 (1933), 542 ff.

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two worlds, father and sister-loving gods, the new Osiris". He and his queen were usually called "brother and sister, the father-loving gods"; but his mother, Cleopatra III, amended the protocol to read, "Queen Cleopatra, King Ptolemy, gods, *philometores*, and his children." There are, however, many indications to show that the Egyptians of the Ptolemaic period, in their worship, made a distinction between these ruler-deities and the great traditional gods of the country.[12] Deification was not confined to sovereigns, but, as we have already seen above, certain other human beings were recognized as gods, especially during the Ptolemaic period. Such, for example, were Imhotep, the architect, physician, and philosopher of the Old Kingdom; Amenophis, son of Hapu; and the architect Petesuchos.[13]

The object of popular worship in Ptolemaic Egypt was the great triad of Alexandria, Osiris, Isis, and Horus, in the form of Serapis, Isis, and Harpocrates, and known among the more Greek part of the population as Dionysos, Demeter, and Apollo, an identification, which, by the way, was much older than the Alexandrian conquest—perhaps as early as the Fifth Century B.C.[14] As we have already seen, Osiris as Serapis was the great national god. He absorbed the qualities and attributes of Osiris, Rē^{c}, and even of Amūn, and remained supreme until the end of Egyptian religion, even beyond the borders of Egypt itself. And just as Osiris, as Serapis, drew to himself the worship of all the Mediterranean gods who had a common origin with him; so Isis drew to herself that of all the goddesses related to her, such as Demeter, Aphrodite, Athene, Artemis, Hekate, Hera, Pharia, Plousia, Sothis, Nanaia, Ceres, Minerva, etc. As Serapis was the chief god of the Graeco-Roman period, so Isis was the chief goddess.[15] The third member of the great triad, Horus, as Harpocrates, was important as the child-god, but still retained his ancient reputation as a warrior-god.[16] Apparently, late worshippers of Harpocrates did not distinguish between Horus the son of Osiris and Isis, and *Ḥr-wr*, Horus the Elder, that is, Haroeris. Thus, for example, Apollo was identified

[12] Cf. Erman Religion, 360.

[13] Cf. Erman Religion, 395; Spiegelberg, in ÄZ, 50 (1912), 47.

[14] See Scott-Moncrieff, *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt*, Cambridge, 1913, 33, n. 1.

[15] Cf. Milne, in ERE, VI, 378 ff.; Scott-Moncrieff, in JHS, 29 (1909), 79-90.

[16] See above, chapter IV; also Mercer Horus, *passim*; Zimmermann AR, 120; Erman Religion, 392.

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at Ombos with Haroeris (CIG, III, 4859), and with Harpocrates at Naukratis (AJA, II (1886), 151). Harpocrates was identified with various deities, with Apollo, Heracles ; in his youthful form

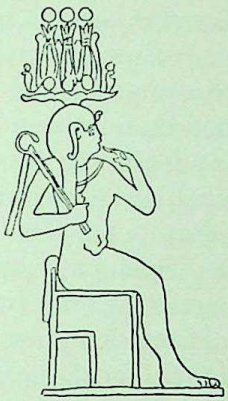

Fig. 114
HARPOCRATES

he was Eros, the " little Apollo ", the " little Heracles " ; sometimes he appeared as Helios (AOr, III, 143-5) ; he was associated with Telesphoros ;[17] he is said to have assumed the form of Abraxas (*Ḥr-p3-ḫrd ?*) ; and he was worshipped under the form of Harbaithus.[18] The third member of the triad also assumed the attributes of the local deities with whom Amūn-Rēᶜ had been identified, and even those of Amūn-Rēᶜ at Thebes. The symbol of Horus-Harpocrates still remained the falcon, though the Greeks confused it sometimes with an eagle.[19] He was usually represented as a child in a lotus flower, or rising out of a chalice ; and when he was represented as a child with his finger to his lips, as he very often was, the Greeks interpreted it as a command to the faithful to be silent concerning the mysteries of their religion.

As in pharaonic Egypt so in the Ptolemaic period, deities were legion. Besides the ancient deities, in their Greek form, already mentioned, there were Amūn-Rēᶜ as *Ἀμονρασωθήρ* (*'imn-rᶜ-nśw-nṯr*) ; Bes, usually as a warrior ; Wepwawet, also as a soldier. Many are merely names to us so far as our knowledge of them is concerned ;[20]

[17] Roscher Lex, 309 ff.

[18] Brady, " The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks ", *Univ. of Missouri Studies*, 10 (1935), 1-88, 34 and n. 16.

[19] See Griffith Studies, 457.

[20] Cf. Erman Religion, 394.

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others are better known : There were Agathodaimon,[21] a pair of serpent deities ; *Ἀλήθεια* ;[22] Antaeus ; Ares, son of Zeus, identified not only with Onuris, but also with Set, Horus, Shu ; Alexandria and Justice were personified and deified ; Babys associated with Typhon ; *Βουκόλων* ; Carneius, son of Amon ; the famous Eleusis was worshipped in Egypt ; Eusebeia ; Dioscures, with a cult in Egypt ; Jao Abraxas ; Ka-mwt.f, worshipped at Panopolis ; the famous Mithra, worshipped especially in Alexandria ; the goddess Nanaia, also of Alexandria ; Nemesis,[23] an aspect of Isis ; *Πετενσῆτις* (*p3-nṯr n Śṯt*), god of Sehêl, as Kronos ; Pnepheros, the god of beautiful countenance ; Prâ, who was worshipped at Avaris ;[24] Priapus ; Rhea ; Sabaoh ; Soknopaios, associated with Isis ;[25] and many others. And there were foreign deities, as we have seen, such as Adonis, Mithra, etc. Many deities, as before, were worshipped sometimes under purely animal form, such as, Osiris under the form of a bull or ram ; or part human and part animal, as Isis with a cow's head. Indeed, the Greeks and Romans were said to recognize at least thirty-two kinds of sacred animals.[26]

The official Graeco-Egyptian religion was based upon the tradition of Alexandria which was mostly ancient Egyptian with a slight mixture of Greek ideas and usages. The royal family patronized this official religion for they were a very part of it. The king and queen were deified, and although not thought of, by the native population, in the same way as the old deities of Egypt, were nevertheless worshipped during their lifetime. This is what especially differentiated them also from the pharaohs. The Ptolemaic sovereigns were not only themselves the object of worship during their lifetime, but they also worshipped the old gods of Egypt and celebrated their feasts. Thus, the famous stela of Mendes gives us an actual and contemporaneous picture of the second Ptolemy, Philadelphus, and Arsinoe I, and their son, the future

[21] Αγαθὸς Δαίμων of the city of Alexandria ; and as Alexander was considered city-god of Alexandria so he and Agathodaimon were identified ; even Nero looked upon himself as a son of Agathodaimon (cf. C. E. Visser, *Götter u. Kulte im ptolemäischen Alexandrien*, Amsterdam, 1938).

[22] See Lévy, " Divinités égyptiennes chez les Grecs et les Sémites ", Paris, 1921, 271-88.

[23] Cf. Perdrizet, in Annales, 31 (1931), 25-31.

[24] Cf. Griffith Studies, 408.

[25] Cf. JEA, 20 (1934), 82.

[26] See Hopfner Tierkult, 10-11 ; cf. Strabo's (17, 28) report about animal worship in Egypt about the time of Augustus.

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Euergetes I, worshipping the buck of Mendes, who was previously consecrated and enthroned at the command of the king. Following the example of the royal family, the Greek inhabitants frequently worshipped in Egyptian shrines, addressing the deities by Greek names ; but most of them regarded the strange rites of the Egyptians as barbaric, ludicrous, strange, and childish. This was especially true of their attitude towards Egyptian animal-worship. The native Egyptians of the upper classes wooed the royal family and really became attached to the worship of Serapis, especially as, except in external appearance, he was actually the ancient god Osiris ; but the native peasantry adhered to the old gods and ancient forms of worship, gradually purging their religion from Greek elements, which with the earlier Greeks began to make themselves felt.

The Ptolemaic kings were particularly favourable to the ancient Egyptian temples, and well might they be, for they were the centre of great political power, entrenched for centuries, and rich in landed properties and endowments, with many rights and privileges, such as, exemption from taxation, and the right of asylum,[27] where, in the inner and sacred courts, a man came under the protection of the gods. These conditions and circumstances were recognized by the kings, although they tended to curtail them whenever and wherever possible, without offending the powerful priesthood. But from the first they admired the great and mighty temples of ancient Egypt, and did their utmost to duplicate them in temples of their own building. Thus, with the first Ptolemaic kings, began a great period of temple building—Dendera, Edfu, Kom Ombo, Philae, built according to the pattern of the older temples. Numerous smaller temples in all parts of Egypt were built or restored, for example, in one small town in the Faiyûm there were built no less than two large and fifteen small temples.[28] These temples were endowed, served by numerous priests and lay-helpers, and the king often restored temple endowments which had lapsed, or had been confiscated, as in the case of the endowments of the temple of Buto, which the Persian king Xerxes had seized. The great Ptolemaic temples were built according to the same general plan as the ancient temples, only there were more rooms and special chapels. The temple of Dendera, the most magnificent and imposing of all the Ptolemaic temples, dedicated to Hathor,

[27] Perhaps the so-called Κάτοχοι came into this category, cf. Sethe Sarapis.
[28] Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, Berlin, 1918, p. 348.

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is a good example. There were no less than thirty-four great courts, chambers, and ambulatories, besides separate chapels on the flat roof, and numerous secret chambers or crypts. The whole structure was enclosed by a wall. The great portico to the temple itself is one of the most stately buildings in the world. The whole interior was once brilliantly painted, and the ceilings were decorated entirely with astronomical figures and inscriptions. On the roof is a series of small chapels for the worship of Osiris, the sculptured scenes of which show his death and resurrection. Some of the crypts were used for secret rites of Hathor ; others were used as store-rooms for the *res sacrificii*. The temple walls were sculptured on their outer faces with many figures of deities and scenes of worship, among the deities being the Ptolemaic queen as Isis. At the south-west of the temple was the Sacred Lake, with steps at each corner. Besides the great temple, there were various smaller ones, among them the temple of Isis, which was built in Roman times by Augustus. The elaborate worship of Hathor was essentially joyous, degenerating in later times into license.[29]

All these great temples were staffed with numerous priests, priestesses, and lay assistants, with the same powers, privileges, and duties as in ancient times.[30] Priests were the educated people as of yore ; they were duly trained and ordained ; they had their grades, titles, incomes, and endowments, and they were highly honoured as the protectors of sacred things. Indeed, they were the most fortunate of all official classes. By studying the inscriptions on the Ptolemaic temples, we learn that public divine services of that period were the same as in ancient times (see above, chapter XX)—the same vestments, the same sacrifices and *res sacrificii*, the same ritual acts, the same solemn processions, the same special ceremonies, as in the days of the Old Kingdom. The famous " Ritual of Dendera " on the walls of the chapels of Osiris at Dendera shows the mysteries of Osiris as they were enacted in Ptolemaic days, just as they were celebrated in antiquity at Abydos ; and in the secret chambers of the temple of Dendera the mysteries of Hathor, as Isis, were no doubt, celebrated, mysteries which, according to Diodorus, were alike in every detail with those of Eleusis. Thus, in Ptolemaic times there were performed the mysteries

[29] See Murray, *Egyptian Temples*, London, n.d., chapters IX, X.

[30] Except that the royal function of priestess in the sanctuary ceased at the death of the last Cleopatra (Drioton, " Cyrille d'Alexandrie ", le Caire, 1947, p. 9).

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of Osiris, the mystery of death and of life issuing from death ; and the mysteries of Hathor-Isis, the mystery of birth, and of life coming forth from life. Then, there were not only the ancient feasts and festivals, great and small, such as the New Year's feast, the three great monthly feasts, the feast of Horus of Edfu, and that of Osiris at Busiris, Sais, Abydos, Dendera, Philae, etc., but also new feasts were established, such, for example, as the five-years' feast founded in honour of the deified Ptolemy I Soter.

In the astrological texts of the Ptolemaic period, there is much about religion. Indeed, astrology itself was a department of religion rather than of science, if a distinction can at all be made between the two for that period in the development of civilization. Priests were the authors of astrology, which was a kind of sacred philosophy, whose *modus operandi* consisted of horoscopes, incubations, divinations, palm-readings, the use of mystic books and of mediums, dream-interpretation, possession by spirits, ecstacies, demons, exorcisms, etc.[31] The authors of this rich pseudo-science made use of not only ancient Egyptian magic (see above, chapter XXIII), but they also drew freely upon magical usages, introduced from abroad during the Persian period, through the Persians, from the rich contents of Babylonian and Assyrian astrology. Closely related to Astrology was sorcery, in which the magician by the use of amulets[32] and strange names, borrowed from various sources,[33] operated, honestly in part, but partly, no doubt, by fraud, to answer to the demands of a mystery-fearing and credulous people. Oracles, in reality of the same fundamental nature, were more dignified, and were in the hands of the higher orders of the priesthood, such for example, as the celebrated oracle of Serapis at Alexandria, which became as celebrated as that of Delphi. Questions were written on slips and given to the priests, who presented them to the gods to answer. Oaths were still more dignified, such as the great oath by Osiris at Abaton (modern Bigeh), or the Ptolemaic state-oath by Serapis, Isis, and the other gods ;[34] and maledictions retained their ancient prestige, especially when the name of Set (Typhon) was invoked.

Mummification and burial rites and customs of ancient days

[31] See Cumont, *L'Egypte des Astrologues*, Brussels, 1937.

[32] See Erman Religion, 406 ; above chapter XXIII.

[33] Such as, Jo-erbeth, Jo-soro, Aktiophi, Ereshigal (the Babylonian Ereshkigal), Jao Sabaoth (the Old Testament, Jehovah Sabaoth), etc.

[34] Wilcken Ptolemäerzeit, I, 84.

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were preserved[35] and became still more stereotyped ; and for the first time oil and wax were used on wood to paint portraits of the dead. These apparently were painted during the lifetime of the subjects, and after their death were placed over the face and bound into the mummy-case. A loftier conception of life here and in the hereafter is noticeable in some of the texts of this period, which, as we shall see, developed still farther during the Roman period, approximating (perhaps under the influence of) Christian conceptions of the relationship between conduct in this world and the resultant conditions in the next.

In the transition from Greek to Roman overlordship in Egypt, and during the Roman period, there was no essential change in the teaching and form of worship in Egyptian religion. The great temples, their priesthoods, and liturgies remained, and others were built, while earlier ones were added to or restored. Roman emperors were now deified and worshipped, just as the Ptolemaic kings had been, and there seems to be sufficient indication that Roman empresses also were deified. The upper classes, especially the priesthood, made themselves agreeable to their new rulers, who in turn patronized the temples and establishments, and adored the Egyptian gods ; while the Egyptian peasants continued to worship just as their fathers did ; and the Romans in Egypt did as the Greeks before them, namely, adored Egyptian deities, but called them by Roman names. The great triad of Alexandria continued as important as ever. But about the end of the First Century A.D., Osiris appears to have been worshipped more often under his old name Osiris than under that of Serapis.[36] The worship of Isis was very popular during the Roman period, and it lasted longer than that of any other ancient Egyptian deity. By the end of the Fifth Century A.D. the worship of Egyptian deities was dead, with the exception of that of Isis in her great temple at Philae, which did not come to an end before the reign of Justinian 527-565. She was sometimes represented in nude as Isis-Hathor-Aphrodite ; sometimes in a new rôle as patroness of the harbour of Alexandria and shipping, when she appeared with a rudder in her hand ; but usually she was represented as a mother nursing her child, Harpocrates. During the same period, the third member of the triad appeared either as Horus or as Harpocrates. As Horus he was very often

[35] See above, chapter XIX.

[36] See *Alexandria Mus. Cat.*, Inscr. gr. e rom., Nos. 332, 341 ; cf. Milne in " Graeco-Egyptian Religion ", ERE, VI, 384b ; also above n. 4.

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represented as a foot-soldier or on horseback; and he appeared also as a Roman emperor, just as in ancient times he appeared as a

Fig. 115
ISIS AS A MOTHER

pharaoh.[37] As Harpocrates, he appeared as an infant in the arms of his mother, or as a small boy in various postures with his finger to his mouth, and wearing the side-lock of youth.[38]

Fig. 116
HORUS OR HARPOCRATES AS A SOLDIER

Many of the old Egyptian deities and most of the deities worshipped during the Ptolemaic period were also worshipped

[37] Cf. Capart, in Mélanges Maspero, II, 225 ff.
[38] Cf. Mercer Horus, 181 ff.

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during the Roman occupation. In addition, deities were introduced from Rome to add to the already crowded pantheon, such as Jupiter Capitolinus and Roma ; Nubian deities, such, for example, as Mandulis of Talmis became popular ; and old deities were identified with deities of Egypt's new masters, such as, Isis-Nepherses, Zeus-Ammon-Chnubis, etc. The emperor-worship of the pharaohs and of the Ptolemaic kings and queens was carried over into the Roman period. Even Antony was called " Antony the great the inimitable, his god, and benefactor ". The Greeks began by being worshipped by request ; the Roman Caligula was worshipped by command. Whether Roman emperors were worshipped, like the Ptolemies, during their lifetime is not quite clear,[39] although some of them such as Vespasian were treated as if they were gods, and appear to have been worshipped as such, and there is evidence also of Christian opposition to sacrificing to Diocletian during his lifetime. An interesting case of deification during the Roman period is that of Antinous, a youthful friend of Hadrian, who

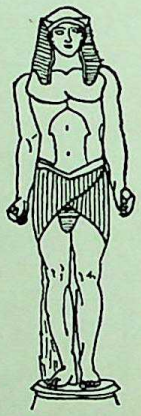

Fig. 117
ANTINOUS

accompanied the emperor to Egypt, was drowned in the Nile, and in consequence deified thereby.[40]

The three great periods of temple building in ancient Egypt were the Old Kingdom, the New Kingdom, and the Ptolemaic period. During the Roman period, however, many of Egypt's

[39] See Hanotaux Histoire, III, 356-60 ; cf. " Deification (Greek and Roman) ", ERE, IV, 529b-532b.

[40] CIG, 6007 ; ÄZ, 46 (1910), 132.

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great temples were repaired, restored, and added to. One of the most important of these was the temple of Isis at Philae, the last stronghold of Egypt's ancient religion in the land. The temple was dedicated to Isis and Harpocrates, and was begun by Ptolemy II Philadelphus. The walls are covered both outside and inside with reliefs of the Ptolemaic king and of the Roman emperors, Augustus, Tiberius, and Antoninus Pius, as pharaohs, performing the ancient and customary ceremonies. The Osiris chambers contain scenes from the mysteries of Osiris. A portal in the girdle-wall of the temple was built by Hadrian and is called " Hadrian's Gateway ". Among the smaller temples on the island of Philae is one dedicated to Hathor, built by Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy IX, but added to and partially rebuilt by Augustus. There is also a Ptolemaic temple dedicated to Imhotep. Although, as we have already remarked, the name of Osiris was used more often than that of Serapis during the Roman period, nevertheless the name Serapis persisted far down in the Roman age, and Aristides (xlv, 32) reports that in the Second Century A.D. there were forty-two temples of Serapis in Egypt. In some instances the two were differentiated, for at Oxyrhynchus in Roman times there was an Osireion as well as a Serapeion and a priestly college is said to have served Osiris as well as Serapis and other deities.[41] The priesthood remained powerful, although more under the control of the civil power than during the Ptolemaic period, and services were just as numerous and elaborate. The Romans, who made their homes in Egypt, remained Romans, and were not much affected by the religion of Egypt, but the higher officials and the emperors recognized the native cult, and the latter were often represented on the walls of temples, adoring the ancient deities of Egypt.[42] The passion of Osiris and the mysteries of Isis were ceremonious and popular ; and so were the ancient festivals, which, during the Roman period, were made stationary, the great New Year's festival, for example, occurring always on the 29th of August.

During the long Roman period from 30 B.C. to A.D. 642, the old native religion lasted officially over four hundred of the six hundred and seventy-one years, and continued long after that among the masses, for the new official religion decreed in A.D. 378 made very slow progress in Egypt. It was in the first year of his reign that the emperor Theodosius I, 378-395, issued a decree that

[41] Pap Oxyrhynchus, 241, 10, 13.
[42] E.g. Hanotaux Histoire, III, 250.

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the whole of the Roman Empire should become Christian.[43] From that date until the coming of the Arabs in 642, the history of Egypt was largely determined by Christian patriarchs. Theodosius ordered the demolition of the temples at Alexandria, and in 391 the Serapeum was destroyed. It is interesting to note that the worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as the Theotokos, or Mother of God, was introduced into the Church at about the same time. The edict of 391 seems to have applied to all the temples in Egypt, and yet such temples as those of Serapis in Alexandria and Isis of Philae offered stubborn resistance. Finally, by the end of the Fifth Century every ancient Egyptian cult except that of Isis at Philae had perished. And finally in the reign of Justinian 527-565, an end was put to that. Temples were desecrated ; churches were built ; and gods became demons.[44] Nevertheless, the masses took a long time to abandon their ancient faith, old burial customs remained, and some aspects of ancient rite and ritual found their way into the new state-religion. Christianity made a strong appeal, especially to the lower classes, and the sacramental mysteries of the Christian religion intrigued the upper classes who had been so devoted to the mysteries of Osiris and Isis. On the other hand, Egyptian converts to Christianity brought with them their ancient and rich conceptions of the attributes of the human soul, of a spiritualized resurrection of the material body, of heaven as a glorified counterpart to earth, and of the dependence of individual future happiness upon individual conduct in this world. These ideas, not to speak of numerous details, in literature, art, and ritual, illustrate how deeply the dying religion of the past coloured the living religion of the future.[45]

The line of demarkation between Egypt and Nubia was so slight that there was always between the two countries, since prehistoric days, exchange of culture and intercourse of all kinds. As early as the Middle Kingdom, Egypt subdued Nubia, when the great neighbouring gods Khnum of the First Cataract and Dedun of the Second Cataract were brought into close relationship. In

[43] Codex Theodos., xvi, 1.2.

[44] E.g. Bes became " the evil demon, whom men call Bes ", Erman Religion, 416.

[45] Cf. JEA, 8 (1922), 152 ff. ; the Egyptian story of " The rich man and Lazarus ", Gressmann, *Vom Reichen Man und Armen Lazarus*, Berlin, 1918 ; statues of Isis and Harpocrates, as mother and child, and of the " good shepherd " carrying his sheep (Erman Religion, figs. 161, 177), etc.

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the New Kingdom, Nubia became a dominion of Egypt, when its religion was largely Egyptianized. In southern Nubia at Gebel Barkal, Thutmose III built a second Karnak in the city of Napata. In the Eighth Century, Napata became the capital of an independent Nubian (Ethiopian) kingdom, when three of its kings formed the Twenty-fifth Dynasty of Egypt. Thus, for a time the royal capital of Egypt was at Napata, and there the pharaohs built sumptuous temples for Amūn-Rēᶜ and other deities. Later the Nubian royal residence was transferred to Meroe, about 300 B.C. The great temple of Amūn-Rēᶜ at Napata was built by Tutankhamen. The real ruler of Nubia was Amūn of Napata a dignity and power inherited from the ruling priesthood of Thebes. The Nubian people, with the great Amūn over them, regarded themselves as the real worshippers of the Egyptian gods. The great temple of Abu Simbel, in Nubia, is the greatest rock temple in the Nile Valley. It was built by Rameses II, on an old sacred site, and dedicated to Amūn-Rēᶜ, Rēᶜ-Harachte, Ptah, and to Rameses himself. The sanctuary of this great edifice, the axis of which is almost due east and west, is completely dark, except at sunrise when the rays of the sun pass through the whole length of the temple and shine directly on the seated gods. Many other Egyptian temples were built in Nubia. There was even a temple to the Aton—the only Aton temple which has survived—in the present province of Halfa, between the second and third cataracts. Amūn was all powerful; his priesthood was rich and powerful, in spite of the poorness of the soil; and Nubian (Ethiopian) princesses became the divine consorts of the great temples. At the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, Psamtik I set up a native government in Nubia, and thenceforth Nubia began to fall back into barbarism. The kingdom of Amūn came to an end in Nubia in the Third Century B.C.; Egyptian religion degenerated; and the capital and sacred city were transferred to Meroë. The sacred script of Egypt was neglected or forgotten, and a new script, which modern scholars call Meroitic, came into use. Funerary art became a debased form of the sacred funerary art of ancient Egypt, and the old mortuary god Osiris, and his consort, came back into the daily religion of the people. We do not know how long this Nubianized Egyptian culture lasted, but Christianity must have made its way into Nubia at a very early period, for the story of the eunuch of Candace, queen of Nubia (Ethiopia), and his journey to Jerusalem would so indicate (Acts viii. 27).

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From time immemorial Egypt and Libya were closely related in life and thought. One of the earliest and greatest of Egyptian deities was apparently a Libyan goddess, Neit, and a well-known later god was the Libyan Ash, who made for himself a place in the Egyptian pantheon (see above, chapter XII). In the Oasis of Siwa, westward from the Faiyûm, was the famous Ammonium, seat of the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, where Alexander the Great went to be deified in 331 B.C.; and in the Oasis of Khârga, westward from Thebes, is the great temple of Hibis, dedicated to Amūn, built by Darius I.[46] One of the chapels in this temple was dedicated to Osiris. Among other deities represented there were Khnum, and Astarte on horseback, with bow and arrows. The temple of Nadura, in the same place, a Roman edifice, was built during the time of Antoninus Pius.

Legends connected Osiris with Byblos in Syria. The beginning of culture in Egypt can best be explained by tracing one of its important elements to a Semitic source in Syria. These things emphasize the important relations which always existed between the two countries, and in these relations there is evidence that religion played an important rôle. For example, Menkure (Mycerinus) of the Fourth Dynasty, builder of the third great Pyramid gave presents to the temple in Byblos; Wenamon, at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, a temple official of Amūn, was sent to procure cedar from the Lebanon forests, for the construction of a sacred boat for Amūn. He took with him a statue of Amūn; and the people of Byblos adored their goddess in the form of a Hathor.[47] In Phoenicia graves were often decorated in Egyptian fashion; and according to Pap Harris (I, 9, 1 ff.), Rameses III built a temple to Amūn there. In Palestine at Bethshan, the Egyptian gods Amūn-Rēᶜ and Harachte were honoured in the company of Canaanite deities, and at Megiddo (Tell el-Mutesellim) a small amulet of Horus and many Egyptian scarabs have been found. There was an important temple of Hathor in early times in Sinai;[48] a colony of worshippers of Osiris were at home in Arabia as early as 500 B.C.;[49] and at Hadramout, Osiris, "great god, lord of Mendes", was worshipped.[50] Even as far off as India, Serapis was

[46] Winlock, *The Temple of Hibis in el-Khārgeh Oasis*, Pt. I, New York, 1941.
[47] Cf. Montet, *Byblos et L'Egypte*, Paris, 1928, 287-91.
[48] HTR, 25 (1932), 122-9.
[49] Budge Osiris, II, 285.
[50] Cf. Diodorus, I, 27.

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worshipped ;[51] and Isis with her husband Osiris and her son Horus was adored there as well as in Persia and in Europe.[52]

Crete was another land with which Egypt had relations from prehistoric times, and among them some of the most important were religious ;[53] and throughout the Greek world, in almost every important centre there was an Egyptian group with its Egyptian religious ideas and usages. At Delos there were three Egyptian sanctuaries where the three principal deities were Serapis, Isis, and Anubis[54] ; and in later times Isis as Isis-Soteira-Astarte-Aphrodite, and Horus as Eros-Harpocrates-Apollon. In the Fourth Century B.C., Athens was a great centre of the worship of Isis and Osiris,[55] and in Piraeus there was a temple of Isis ; in the Second Century B.C. Isis and Serapis were the chief deities in Orchomenos and Chaeronea, and Osiris was worshipped in Bithynia. But it seems certain that it was only with difficulty and after much time that Egyptians were permitted openly to introduce the worship of their gods into Greece.[56] At first it was the blind faith of the Egyptians in the power of their gods which impressed the Greeks, and Romans as well. However, that did not deter such writers as Lucian from having much fun at the expense of Egyptian deities. But on the other hand Plutarch did his best so to interpret Egyptian theological legends as to make them agreeable to Greek thinkers. It is also certain that Egyptian religious thought did not to any considerable extent affect the philosophy of the Greeks.[57] Indeed, the cults of Isis, Osiris, Serapis, Anubis, when transplanted to Greece, and also to Italy and the rest of Europe, really ceased to be Egyptian ; for example, the account by Apuleius of the Egyptian festival at Corinth contains hardly anything that would be recognized as Egyptian, apart from proper names.

In the Roman Empire there was no province where Egyptian deities were not known—in North Africa, Italy, the Balkans, Spain,

[51] Mommsen, *Röm. Geschichte*, V, 354, Anm. 1.

[52] Cf. Erman Religion, 435-9.

[53] See Mercer Horus, 35-6 ; cf. Newberry, in AAA, 5 (1913), 132 ff.

[54] Roussel, *Les Cultes égyptiens à Délos* (*Annales de l'Est*, Vol. 29-30), Paris, 1915-16 ; cf. Rostovzeff, *Aegyptus*, 13 (1933), 493 ff. ; Pieper, in ÄZ, 60 (1925), 45-50 ; Lafaye Culte, *passim*.

[55] Budge Osiris, II, 285-86.

[56] Cf. Lafaye Culte, 13 f.

[57] Cf. Kees, *Aegypten* (*Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients*), München, 1933, 335 ff.

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Switzerland, France, England, Germany.[58] In Europe there was a great simplification of the Egyptian pantheon; only Isis, Osiris, Serapis, and Horus were generally recognized; and at last Isis seems to have almost absorbed them all, even the underworld became the realm not of Osiris but of Isis. The cult of Isis spread throughout Europe and lasted with great power and influence until Mithra began to steal away some of her converts, and finally the coup de grâce was given by Theodosius, the Christian, and in 394 the last official cult was celebrated in Rome. Before that, the service in the temples of Isis in Europe kept to the ancient ritual; priests and priestesses performed the same functions; the great feasts, such as those of Isis and the mysteries of Osiris were celebrated according to ancient form;[59] and the mortuary rites so characteristic of Egypt were performed wherever there were groups of worshippers of Isis and Osiris.

Already in the time of Sulla there was in Rome an Egyptian group, and from then on for four hundred years Egyptian religion was very popular in that great city. In the eyes of the Roman people, the ancient Egyptians and their country were the foundation-head of all wisdom; even the Greeks, they believed, received the best they knew from Egypt. Apuleius reports (Metamorphoses, xi.) that since the time of Sulla there was a college of Isaic priests at Rome. Very soon Isis with Osiris, rather than Serapis, became recognized deities in Rome. And although Tiberius persecuted the Egyptian religion, Caligula built a great temple, which he dedicated to Isis, and which later was enlarged by Domitian. Meanwhile, it was under Nero that the worship of Egyptian deities was formerly recognized by the state, and from then on it followed the Roman arms into every quarter of the ancient world. Hadrian and his consort were great admirers of everything Egyptian, and had constructed in their palace-grounds a temple dedicated to Serapis (Osiris). It was Hadrian's protégé, the Greek youth Antinous who was deified as "Osiris-Antinous", after his death by drowning in the Nile. The Egyptian religion reached its height when the emperor, Commodus, appeared in the processions of the cult among the bearers of the sacred images, and when Isis and Serapis (Osiris) were even called "Roman deities".[60]

[58] And apparently Germans as well as members of an Egyptian or Roman colony in Germany (see Erman, "Ein Deutscher als Verehrer aegyptischer Götter", ÄZ, 42 (1905), 110.

[59] Cf. JEA, 25 (1939), 73.

[60] Minucius Felix, 22, 2.

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The cult of Isis flourished in Pompeii, where there was a beautiful temple, dedicated to her, like the temple of Alexandria. Besides Isis, Osiris, Harpocrates, Anubis, and many other deities, there were also statues of Dionysos, Aphrodite, and Priapus. Both pictures and statuary show how mixed the sacred furnishings of an Egyptian temple in Europe had become—some objects had come from Egypt, while others were made locally after a manner partly Egyptian, and partly Greek or Roman.

From Rome and its neighbourhood, the cult of Isis and Serapis (Osiris) spread throughout almost the whole of Europe, by the way of Bozen and Marienhausen to Köln, where a statue of Isis was

Fig. 118
ISIS IN KÖLN

found in the church of St. Ursula, to England, and to Paris, in which latter place Isis seems to have held a place of great honour as protectress of the city.[61]

Finally, in making a very brief chronological summary of the history of religion in ancient Egypt, it may be said that the religion of Egypt seems to have had its origin in that state of imagination, thought, and experience which we understand by the term animism ; and that the external, material objects in which superior or divine beings were believed to have manifested themselves may be called by the modern word fetishes. These fetishes, or deities, were

61 Grimond, Chronique, 24 (1937), 239-40.

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numerous, and so the earliest Egyptians, of whom we have any knowledge, were what we call polytheists. Furthermore, judging by the nature of the earliest burials, and burial usages, we feel safe in saying that the earliest Egyptians believed in an after-life, much like the life of which they had experience. They were, then, polytheists, and they believed in a future life—two articles of faith, which were the very essence of their religion, and which remained the central tenets of their religious thought to the very end.

The earliest Egyptians, like all primitive animists, believed that the gods could and did manifest themselves in the form of animals and in that of other living creatures, and also in the form of innumerable inanimate objects. All such forms were then treated as persons, that is personified, and also deified, and venerated or worshipped, either as symbols of divine beings, or as their abode. In short everything interesting, strange, unusual, mysterious, was apt to be personified and deified by someone, somewhere. Consequently, there were individual deities, family deities, clan deities ; there were village, town, city, and nome deities ; and in time there arose great national deities. If there was ever a primeval god, recognized by all the indigenous Egyptians, north and south, it was Set, who certainly was later, though still in prehistoric days, god of Upper Egypt, with his capital at Ombos. The bringers of a higher way of life, still in prehistoric times, were a people from Western Asia, who may have come by the way of the Red Sea, and who worshipped a sky-god, whom they called Horus. He was a warrior-god, and became god of Lower Egypt. Agriculturists, worshipping a fertility god, called Osiris, from perhaps the " Fertile Crescent " of Western Asia, entered the Delta from the east, and largely by diplomacy and peaceful means brought about the first " Union " of Egypt, with its capital at Busiris. After that, but still before the dawn of history in Egypt, came people from the islands of the Mediterranean, and perhaps also partly from the mainland of eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus, an intellectual people, sun-worshippers, who established themselves at the apex of the Delta, especially in and around Heliopolis. Their god was Rē^{c}. Meanwhile the men of Set and those of Osiris fought, and the Osirian king was slain. The followers of Horus, friends and allies of Osiris, attacked Set and his men, and defeated them. In this struggle the followers of Horus had the sympathy of those of Rē^{c}. The result was the second " Union " of all Egypt, in which the more cultured Lower Egypt brought under control and into

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its sphere of higher civilization the southern part of the country, Upper Egypt.[62] Then just before the beginning of the historic period Upper and Lower Egypt quarrelled, resulting in a civil war in which the Horus-kings of the South conquered the Horus-kings of the Delta, and brought about the great Union of Upper and Lower Egypt, about 3000 B.C.

Just as the earliest form of organized society was that of the local group—village, town, or city—so the earliest and most primitive form of organized religion was that of the local deity, the village, town, or city god, the *nṯr nwt.i.* And according as social and political life developed, so did organized religion, until there were nome gods and national gods, as well as village and city gods. Each god, or group of gods, was surrounded by his own complex of beliefs and practices, so that many cults grew up and developed side by side. Among them all, in time, two great systems of religious thought were formulated around the names of the gods Osiris and Rēᶜ, with the cult of Horus as a kind of connecting link, Horus the son of Osiris. These two cults or systems of religious thought had pretty well evolved before the rise of the historic period. By the Fifth Dynasty, the Rēᶜ cult had become the state religion, with Rēᶜ as the state god, but also Horus as the dynastic and royal god; and the Osiris cult was well established as a religion of the people with its special appeal to the individual believer. By the end of the Sixth Dynasty, the superior theologians of the Rēᶜ cult had attempted to correlate and reconcile the two chief faiths—an attempt not altogether successful as we see by the Pyramid Texts. Meanwhile, a third great system of theology, more philosophical than that of the Rēᶜ theologians of Heliopolis, developed around the name of the great god of Memphis, the creator-god, Ptah.

Before the end of the Old Kingdom the more important systems of theological thought had been formulated; the contrast between the two greatest systems, that of Osiris and that of Rēᶜ, was well established, the former a popular cult and the latter a state cult; the form, content, and ritual of divine service were becoming stereotyped; and mortuary services were beginning to be uniform. But the individual had not yet come into his own.

[62] As already seen in the early part of this book, almost all considerations unite to prove this view—tradition, superior fertility of Lower Egypt, monuments, the cranial capacity and muscular development of the men of the North, accessibility to foreign influence, and modern scholarship, as exemplified by Sethe Urgeschichte, *passim.*

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That was to be the contribution of the Middle Kingdom. Religion in the Old Kingdom was national rather than individual.

With the growing sense of individual right and individual responsibility the Middle Kingdom became a great period of moral development. This was due primarily to the decentralization of political power, during a feudal period, and to the rise of a well-to-do middle class, and its effect upon the individual. To all these human strivings the character of the cult of Osiris ministered. Its central tenets were death, resurrection, judgment, and the promise of a blessed immortality—and the blessed future depended upon individual conduct in this life. While Rē^{c} remained the great state god, Osiris became more and more popular and powerful. There was unrest, scepticism, during the Middle Kingdom, but it was a period of great social and moral development and improvement.

The Middle Kingdom was followed by a period of confusion and invasion. The Hyksos with their horses occupied Egypt and ruled, more or less, from Avaris in the eastern Delta, with the ancient Set as their god. But about 1580 B.C. Ahmose drove them out and established himself as first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the beginning of the New Kingdom.

Egypt now grew and quickly expanded into an empire, and by the time of the great conqueror Thutmose III, she found herself a world-power, and her partially-new national god Amūn-Rē^{c} became an empire god. It was he, it was believed, who freed Egypt from the Hyksos, and to him was the glory. Amūn-Rē^{c}, or simply Amūn, as he became more and more to be called, grew great and powerful, and his chief-priests became heads of all priesthoods. There was a single revolt against Amūn, made by the artistic and religious genius, Ikhnaton, who was original in art and religion, changed the form and content of divine service, and suppressed festivals. But it was short-lived ; and it is to be noted that it had no effect upon those mortuary rites, even during his own lifetime, which were characteristic of the cult of Osiris. After the death of Ikhnaton, there was the awaited reaction, and Amūn and his priests became still more powerful, with this difference, however, namely, that for various reasons, there began a great growth of personal piety, the individual consciousness of the moral difference between right and wrong, of the Middle Kingdom, was fully developed, and Amūn became the champion of truth, piety, and pity, the god of the poor and defender of the oppressed. By the beginning of the Nineteenth

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Dynasty, and certainly by the time of Seti I, the religion of Egypt was full grown, and thereafter remained the same in all essentials, ritually and morally. By this time it had reached its highest and noblest form ; and just as it had slowly climbed through the ages to that exalted peak, so afterward it gradually and slowly passed into decadence.

At the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, the priesthood of Amūn seized the royal power, and the chief priest Herihor became king. The collapse of the empire under the Twenty-first Dynasty was followed by three centuries under Libyan and Nubian dynasties, at the close of which came the Assyrian conquest of Lower Egypt. This was followed by a vigorous line of Saitic kings, when an effort was made to revive the traditions of ancient times. Ancient cults and rites of the Old Kingdom were revived, complete catalogues of gods were constructed and inscribed on temple walls, and animal-worship gained its greatest popularity. Then came the Persian conquest under Cambyses in 525 B.C. In general the Persians had little respect for the religion of Egypt. Cambyses is said even to have slain the sacred Apis bull with his own hands, but the temple of Jehovah on Elephantiné was destroyed by them apparently to please the Egyptians, and Darius himself tried to make good the tactless deed of Cambyses. Indeed, Darius built a temple for Amūn in the Khârga Oasis, and Darius III is said to have been very kind to Egyptian priests. But a new era was due to dawn. The shadow of Alexander was growing ever larger and nearer. The decorations and inscriptions in the grave of Petosiris,[63] priest of Hermopolis, as well as the work of Herodotus, illustrate the end of the old and the beginning of a new world of thought. The day of Amūn was gone ; Amūn-Rē^{c} was rarely mentioned ; Rē^{c} was just Helios ; but Serapis was Osiris, who now was supreme in the religion of the state as well as among the people. Osiris as Serapis was made the official god by the Ptolemies. It was, thus, that the Osirian faith, a great power for righteousness, and not Rē^{c}'s mundane ethic, the Osirian idea of the future, and not Rē^{c}'s heaven, passed over from ancient Egypt, through the Ptolemaic kingdom and the Roman empire, into Christianity. And it was Osiris, his wife Isis, and their son Horus, who witnessed the end of ancient Egypt's religion at home and abroad, and who created the way by which many a rich religious and moral idea passed over into Christianity, and added to the richness of her ancient treasures.

[63] Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris*, Le Caire, 1923-4.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS*

AAA = Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Liverpool.
Abaton = H. Junker, Das Götterdekret über das Abaton, Wien, 1913.
ABAW = Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.
ABayAW = Abhandlungen der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, München.
Abyd Rit = Ritualtext, Mariette, Abydos, I, pl. 1 ff., Paris, 1869.
AcO = Acta Orientalia, Leiden.
Admon = A. H. Gardiner, The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, Leipzig, 1909.
AE = Ancient Egypt and the East, London.
Aeg Inschr Berlin = Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin.
Aeg Vord Alter = Aegyptische und Vorderasiatische Altertümer aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin.
Aegyptus = Aegyptus, Rivista italiana di Egittologia, Milano.
ÄZ = Zeitschrift für aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Leipzig.
AGWG = Abhandlungen der Königl. Gesellschraft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
AHA = Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie.
AIB = Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris.
AJA = American Journal of Archaeology, New York.
AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (continuing Hebraica), Chicago.
Amamu = S. Birch, Egyptian Texts of the earliest Period from the Coffin of Amamu in the British Museum, London, 1886.
Amarna-Poem = N. de G. Davies, the Rock Tombs of El Amarna, VI, pl. 27, London, 1908.
Amduat = The Great Amduat, Grave of Sethi I in Mém. Miss, T. II, 1.
Amélineau Fouilles = E. Amélineau, Les nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos, Paris, 1899-1904.

* No attempt has been made to introduce into this list of abbreviations any other books or articles except those actually used in writing this book. There are other more complete lists of abbreviations for general and special use, such as Erman and Grapow, "Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen" for the *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache*; Budge, "A List of the principal Works used and of the Abbreviations of their titles" in his *Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary*; Ranke, "Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen" in his *Die aegyptischen Personennamen*; and Mercer, "Abbreviations for the use of Writers on Egyptian Religion" in *Egyptian Religion*, III (1935), No. 4. In the case of well-known, old standard works, such as, for example, Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, Porphyry, *De Abstientia*, they are quoted in the generally accepted form without any further explanation. When no reference at all is given to a statement, it is because, either, it is accepted generally, or, reference to it may be found in the *Wörterbuch* or other standard dictionaries. Whenever a quotation is made from an unpublished text, whether the text be in a museum, *in situ* in Egypt, or in the author's notes copied from monuments, a statement is made to that effect. More recent books, and books and articles infrequently referred to, are not entered in this list, their title being given in full in the footnotes.

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Amenemhēt = N. de Garis Davies and A. H. Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhēt, London, 1915.
Amenemope = E. A. W. Budge, The Book of the Precepts of Âmen-em-âpt, the Son of Ka-nekht, according to the Papyrus in the British Museum (No. 10474), London, 1924.
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Ani = F. Chabas, Les Maximes du Scribe Ani, Paris, 1874.
Annales = Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Le Caire.
An Or = Analecta Orientalia, Roma.
Anthropos = Anthropos. Internat. Zeitschrift für Völker und Sprachenkunde, Wien.
AO = Der Alte Orient, Leipzig.
AOr = Archiv Orientální, Prague.
AP = Archiv für Papyrusforschung, Leipzig.
APAW = Abhundlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.
Apoph = Apophis-book, E. A. W. Budge, Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, London, 1910.
Arch Reports = Archaeological Reports comprising the recent work of the Egypt Exploration Fund and the Progress of Egyptology, London.
ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, Leipzig.
ASAW = Abhundlungen der Saechsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Leipzig.
ASGW = Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Klasse der Königl. Saechsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Leipzig.
Asien und Europa = W. Max Müller, Asien und Europa nach altaegyptischen Denkmälern, Leipzig, 1893.
ASSF = Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, Helsingfors.
Atti Acc Linc = Atti della R. Acad. dei Lincei, Roma.

BAR = J. H. Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, Chicago, 1906-07.
BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven.
Bauer = F. Vogelsang, Die Klagen des Bauern, Leipzig, 1913.
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BMFA = Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
BM Hiero Texts = Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum, London.
BMMA = Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
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BSAW = Berichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Leipzig.
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Bull Inst Eg = Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien, continued as Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte, Le Caire.

CAH = Cambridge Ancient History, Cambridge, 1924 ff.
Cairo Pap = Photographs of Egyptian Papyri in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo, Cairo.
Cairo Wb = Unpublished Texts in the Museum at Cairo, which were put on slips for the *Wörterbuch*.
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CSCO = Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Leipzig.
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